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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES

OF INDIA:

TO WIT,

HINDI, PANJABI, SINDHI, GUJARATI, MARATHI, ORIYA AND BANGALI.

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VOL. III.

THE VERB.

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 1. Structure of the Sanskrit Verb.—§ 2. Beginnings of the Analytical System in Sanskrit.—§ 3. Conjugations of the Pali Verb.—§ 4. Tenses of the Pali Verb.—§§ 5, 6. The Verb in Jaina Prakrit.—§ 7. Scenic Prakrit Verb.—§ 8. Apabhraṇça Verbal Forms.—§ 9. The Modern Verbal Stem.—§ 10. Phases of the Verb.—§ 11. Single and Double Stems.—§ 12. Single Neuter Stems from Sanskrit *BHŪ* Roots.—§ 13. The same from other Classes of Sanskrit Roots.—§ 14. Modern Neuter Stems from Sanskrit Passive Past Participles.—§ 15. Single Active Stems.—§ 16. Treatment of Sanskrit Roots ending in a Vowel.—§ 17. The Stem *DEKH*.—§ 18. Double Verbs.—§ 19. Sindhi Double Stems Differing in the Final Consonant.—§ 20. Double Stems Differing in Vowel and Final Consonant.—§ 21. Double Stems Differing only in the Vowel.—§ 22. Examples and Illustrations.—§ 23. Laws of the Formation of Modern Stems.—§ 24. The Passive Intransitive.—§ 25. The Passive.—§ 26. The Causal.—§ 27. The Passive Causal.—§ 28. The Causal in a Neuter Sense.—§ 29. Secondary Stems.—§ 30. Reduplicated and Imitative Stems.—§ 31. Gipsy Verbal Stems.

§ 1. The Sanskrit verb, with its long array of tenses, intricate phonetic changes, and elaborate rules of formation, seems to have been subjected at a very early period to processes of

simplification. Indeed, we may be permitted to hold that some, at least, of the forms laid down in the works of Sanskrit grammarians, were never actually in use in the spoken language, and with all due deference to the opinions of scholars, it may be urged that much of this elaborate development arose in an age when the speech of the people had wandered very far away from the classical type. Even if it were not so, even if there ever were a time when the Aryan peasant used polysyllabic desideratives, and was familiar with multiform aorists, it is clear that he began to satisfy himself with a simpler system at a very distant epoch, for the range of forms in Pali and the other Prakrits is far narrower than in classical Sanskrit.

Simplification is in fact the rule in all branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and in those we are now discussing, the verb follows this general law. To make this clear, it may be well to give here, as a preliminary matter, a slight sketch of the structure of the verb as it stands in the Sanskrit and Prakrit stages of development.

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of

pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world's history a certain race of men used such words as *bhû*, *gam*, or *kar*, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to *bhû* the word *ami*, and, modifying *bhû* into *bhava*, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word *bhavâmi*, "I am." What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of "being," in which the consonantal sound *bh* is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel *û*, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression *bhû*, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of "being" in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this *such* work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

Verbal roots, then, are grammarians' tickets, by which actual spoken words are classified and arranged in groups for convenience of investigation. The roots in Sanskrit are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, as *bhû*, *yâ*, *nî*, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as *ad*, *ish*, *ubh*, or of a vowel between two consonants, as *kar*, *gam*, *pat*. Roots may also consist of a single vowel, as *i*, and in the place of a single consonant there may be a nexus, as *grah*, *pinj*, *mlai*. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as *jâgar*, in others made from nouns, as *kumâr*.

Each verbal root presents six phases or grades of action: active, neuter, passive, causal, desiderative, intensive. All these are distinguished by certain modifications of the letters

of the root, and by certain prefixed and affixed syllables. Thus भू *bhû*, "to be," undergoes the following modifications:

Active / *Neuter*	bhava.
Passive	bhûya.
Causal	bhâvaya.
Desiderative	bubhûsha.
Intensive	bobhûya.

The causal also is in some cases treated as primary stem, and gives rise to subsidiary forms; thus from *pâtaya* "cause to fall," is made a passive *pâtya*, whence comes a desiderative causal *pipâtayisha*.

Each of these six phases may be conjugated throughout thirteen tenses, in each of which are nine forms representing the three persons of the singular, dual, and plural. It rarely happens in practice that any one verbal root exhibits the whole of these forms, but if we regard the general type, we may fairly say that a Sanskrit verb, as an individual entity, is an aggregate of seven hundred and two words, all agreeing in expressing modifications of the idea contained in the root-syllable, which is the common inheritance of them all.[1] Of the thirteen tenses, nine are conjugated according to certain rules which, with some exceptions, hold good for all verbs in the language, but the remaining four tenses are subject to rules by which they are divided into ten classes or conjugations. These four are the present, imperfect, imperative, and optative; and before we can determine what form a verbal

[1] Namely, 6 phases × 13 tenses × 9 persons = 702. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (Leṭ) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Liṭ) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Laṭ), Imperfect (Laṅ), Optative (Liṅ), Imperative (Loṭ), Perfect (Liṭ), Aorist (Luṅ), Future (Lṛṭ), Conditional (Lṛṅ), Second Future (Luṭ), Benedictive (âśir Liṅ). By this reckoning the number of forms would be 6 × 10 × 9 = 540.

root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

Inasmuch also as the Sanskrit grammarians class the active and neuter phases together, we must find out which of these two phases any given verb employs, for the terminations of the tenses and persons are different. Some verbs employ both, but the majority are conjugated only in one of the two, and as there is no rule as to which of the two is to be used, the dictionary is our only guide. The active, or Parasmaipada, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or Âtmanepada, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the Âtmanepada, like the middle voice in Greek, uses the terminations of the passive.

Although each of the seven hundred and two words which make up the complete typical Sanskrit verb contains the common root-syllable, yet this syllable does not appear in the same form in each word, but is subject to certain euphonic and other influences which affect both the vowels and consonants composing it, and often materially alter its shape. Thus the verbal root *KAR*, "do," appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms:

1. ऋ *Ṛi*, in 1 du. pf. Par. *chakṛiva*, 1 pl. id. *chakṛima*, 2 s. pf. Âtm. *chakṛishe*, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. *chakṛivahe, chakṛimahe, chakṛiḍhve;* in the whole of the 1 aor. Âtm., as *akṛishi, akṛithâḥ, akṛita*, etc.; in the pass. part. *kṛitaḥ*, and gerund *kṛitvâ*, and in the benedictive Âtm., as *kṛishîshṭa*, etc.

2. क्रि *kri*, in bened. Par., as *kriyâsam, kriyâḥ, kriyât*, etc., and in the passive present, as *kriye, kriyase, kriyate*, etc.

3. कर् *kar*, in pres. Par., as *karômi, karoshi, karoti*, and before all weak terminations.

4. कुर् *kur*, in pres. Âtm., as *kurve, kurushe, kurute*, and before strong terminations.

5. कार् *kâr*, in pf. Par., as *chakâra*, and 1 aor. Par., as *akârsham*, also in the causal, as *kârayati*.

6. कृ *kr*, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., *chakra, chakruh*, and 1 and 3 s. pf. Âtm. *chakre*.

In the same way the root *ÇRU* "hear," appears in some parts of the verb as *çri*, in others as *çru, çrû, çriṇ*, and *çrâv*. In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

Not only does the root-syllable present itself in various forms in the several tenses, but the terminations of the nine persons differ in each tense, and sometimes one tense will have two sets of terminations. Moreover, the endings of any given tense in one phase, differ from the corresponding ones of the same tense in another phase. Thus the terminations of the present tense are in the active phase

Singular	1. ami.	2. si.	3. ti.
Dual	1. avah.	2. thah.	3. tah.
Plural	1. amah.	2. tha.	3. nti.

But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

Singular	1. i.	2. se.	3. te.
Dual	1. avahe.	2. ithe.	3. ite.
Plural	1. amahe.	2. dhve.	3. nte.

This slight outline will suffice to show how vast and intricate are the ramifications of the Sanskrit verb. The reader who has followed the steps by which the noun has been simplified, as shown in the second volume of this work, will not be surprised to find in the present volume how widely the modern verb differs from that of Sanskrit. It was impossible to reduce the verb to anything like the simplicity required by modern speakers without sacrificing by far the greater portion of the immense and unwieldy apparatus of ancient times.

§ 2. Owing to the want of a continuous succession of literary documents, such as exists in the case of the modern Romance

languages of Europe, it is scarcely possible to trace step by step the changes which have occurred in the verb. It is necessary, however, to make the attempt, and to piece together such evidence as we have, because the modern verb is an undoubted descendant of the ancient one, though only a slight trait here and there recalls the features of its parent, and its structure in many points can only be rendered intelligible by tracing it back to the ancient stock whence it sprung.

The first steps in the direction of simplification occur in Sanskrit itself. Many of the elaborate forms cited by grammarians are of very rare occurrence in actual literature, and some of them seem almost to have been invented for the sake of uniformity. Three instances of this tendency in classical Sanskrit may here be noticed.

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed by reduplication, so we have from √ तप् "burn," pf. तताप, √ दृश् "see," pf. ददर्श, just as λείπω makes λέλοιπα and τρέπω, τέτροφα. But there are certain roots which cannot take reduplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is added to it. The verbs भू "be," अस् "be," and कृ "do," are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√ उंद् "wet," makes pf. उंदां चकार, उंदां बभूव or उंदां आस.

√ चकास् "shine," „ „ चकासां चकार, etc.

√ बोधय "explain," „ „ बोधयां चकार, etc.[1]

Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present tense of the auxiliary अस् "be." Thus from √ बुध् "know," comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of अस् makes

S. 1. बोधितास्मि	P. 1. बोधितास्मः
2. बोधितासि	2. बोधितास्थ.

[1] Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.

A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary अस् to form a perfect definite, as आगतोऽस्मि "I have come," or, as more faithfully represented by other European languages, "je *suis* venu," and as we sometimes say ourselves, "I am come." Here an analytical construction supplies the place of the perfect. Closely allied to this is the frequent habit in writers of the classical style of expressing the same tense by the neuter of the p.p.p. with the subject in the instrumental, as तेन गतं "by him gone," *i.e.* "he went," instead of जगाम.

These are the first faint indications of a method which, in the course of ages, has developed to such an extent as to constitute the leading principle in the organization of the modern verb. By this system a greater facility for expressing nice shades of meaning is obtained. जगाम may mean "he went," or, "he has gone," but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गतोऽस्ति meaning "he has gone," and तेन गतं "he went." Precisely in the same way the Latin had only *ego amavi* for "I loved" and "I have loved," but the Romance languages found this insufficient, and they have—

	"I loved."	"I have loved,"
French	j'aimai	j'ai aimé.
Italian	io amai	io ho amato.
Spanish	yo ame	yo he amado.

§ 3. The next step in the reduction of the numerous Sanskrit tenses to a more manageable compass is seen in Pali, originally an Indian Prakrit, but which became the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, having been carried thither in the middle of the third century[1] before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Açoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

[1] Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 1. But Turnour, Mahawanso xxix., gives B.C. 307. So also Childers, preface, p. ix.

Although the Pali grammarians, in their anxiety to exalt their sacred speech, tell us that the verb has ten conjugations, yet examples of all these are but rarely found.[1] Four of the ten Sanskrit conjugations, the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth, resemble each other very closely even in that language, and are easily brought down to one in Pali. The seventh of Sanskrit also loses somewhat of its peculiar type, which consists in inserting न् between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or न before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. √ रुध् *rudh*, "to obstruct," makes its present रुणद्धि *runaddhi*, but in Pali, while the न is retained, the present is *rundhati*, after the type of the first class.

Five out of the ten Sanskrit conjugations are thus reduced almost, if not entirely, to one. Of the remaining five, the second of Sanskrit in roots which end in a vowel exhibits some traces of Sanskrit forms, while in those which end in a consonant the types of the first, or *Bhû*, class prevail. Thus Skr. √ या "to go," pr. याति, Pali also *yâti*, but

Skr. √ मृज् "to rub," pr. मार्ष्टि. Pali *majjati*, as if from a Skr. मर्जति.
√ दुह् "to milk," „ दोग्धि. „ *dohati*.
√ लिह् "to lick," „ लेढि. „ *lehati*.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the Bhû type. Thus

Skr. √ भी "to fear," बिभेति. Pali भायति.
√ धा "to hold," दधाति. „ दधाति and दहति.

The verb *dâ*, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in § 16.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds नु to its root, the eighth adds उ; but as all its roots except one already end in न्, it

[1] Seven classes are given by Kaccâyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.

comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds न्, ना, and नी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take नु and ना indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √ श्रु "hear," v.	शृणोति.	Pali	सुणोति and सुणाति.
√ बन्ध् "bind," ix.	बध्नाति.	,,	बंधति.
√ कृ "do," viii.	करोति.	,,	करोति.
√ मन् "think," viii.	मनुते.	,,	मञ्ञति.

The reason why the forms of the Bhû conjugation exercise so great an influence, and, like the *-as*-stem in nouns, so largely displace all the other types, is probably that the first conjugation is by far the largest, containing upwards of nine hundred out of the two thousand roots said to exist in Sanskrit. The second conjugation has only seventy-three, the third but twenty-five, the fourth and sixth about one hundred and forty each. The tenth, it is true, contains four hundred, but it is identical in form with the causal. The fifth has only thirty-three, the ninth sixty-one, while under the seventh class are twenty-five, and under the eighth only nine. These figures, it must be added, are taken from the Dhâtupâṭha, a grammarian's list of roots,[1] which contains many roots seldom, if ever, found in use, so that for all practical purposes the first conjugation covers more than half the verbs in the language. When it is also remembered that the fourth, sixth, and tenth differ but slightly from the first, it is not surprising that the terminations common to these four conjugations should have fixed themselves in the popular mind, and been added by the vulgar to all roots indiscriminately. Nearly all those verbs which retain the type of any conjugation, except the first, are words of extremely common use, which would naturally keep their

[1] Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.

well-known forms in the mouths of the people in spite of all rules and tendencies to the contrary.

§ 4. The dual number has entirely disappeared from Pali, and the Âtmanepada, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although Kaccâyana (J. As., vol. xvii. p. 429, sûtra 18) gives terminations for it, yet it is admitted that those of the active may be used instead, and practically it would appear that they are so used. The other phases, as causal, passive, desiderative, and intensive, have their own forms as in Sanskrit.

Among the tenses the chief is the present, and it is in Pali that we first find a tendency to retain throughout the whole verb that form of the root which is in use in the present. This tendency grows stronger in the later Prakrits, and becomes an almost invariable rule in the modern languages. Thus—

Skr. √ पच् "cook,"	present	पचति.	Pa. पचति.
	future	पक्ष्यति.	„ पचिस्सति.
	aorist	अपाचीत्.	„ अपचि.
	gerund	पक्त्वा.	„ पचित्वा.

Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form *pach* in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words *karoti, kubbati, kayirâ, kâhâmi, akâsi, kattum*, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms *karoti, kurvate, kuryât,*[1] *kartâsmi, akârshît, kartum*, are put by their

[1] Or more strictly from an older *karyât* not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 105.

side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian *so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi*, seem to have very little beyond the initial *s* in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin *sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapiunt, sapui;* thus, also, *ho* and *ebbi* can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin *habeo* and *habui* is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing *hacer, hago, hice, hare*, and *hecho*, with their Latin originals *facere, facio, feci, facere habeo*, and *factum*. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhrança of the Romance Prakṛits, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, *ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei*, correspond to Latin *tenere, teneo, tenebam, tenui, tenere habeo:* also *hei, houve, haja*, to *habeo, habui, habeam*, and *sou, he, foi, seja*, to *sum, est, fui, sit*.[1]

The tenses of the Pali verb are eight in number.[2] These correspond to the tenses of the Sanskrit verb, omitting the periphrastic or second future (luṭ), the benedictive (âçir liṅ), and the subjunctive (leṭ). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhû form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus—

Skr. 1 pl. पचामहे. 2. पचध्वे.

Pa. 1. पचाम्हे. 2. पचड्ढे.

In this tense, as in many others, Pali is not very instructive, it clings too closely to the Sanskrit. It is, however, necessary to give a sketch of its forms, because they exhibit the first traces of that gradual change which has led to the modern conjugation. Even when the Pali conjugates a verb according to

[1] Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.

[2] The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 *seqq.*, with some additions from Childers's Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.

any class other than the Bhû, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation; thus from √ या "go," we have—

Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याथ, 3. यांति.

which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga in P. 1.

The imperative follows the type of the present, and may be thus compared with Sanskrit Parasmaipada,

Skr. S. 1. पचानि, 2. पच, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पचंतु.
Pa. S. 1. पचामि, 2. पचहि, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचथ, 3. पचंति.

and with the Âtmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पचै, 2. पचस्व, 3. पचतां; P. 1. पचामहै, 2. पचध्वं, 3. पचंतां.
Pa. S. 1. पचे, 2. पचस्सु, 3. पचतं; P. 1. पचामसे, 2. पचड्ढो, 3. पचंतं.

Here the S. 1 Parasmai seems to have arisen from some confusion with the present, as also P. 2. Noteworthy is S. 2, with its ending हि, which, though only found in classical Sanskrit in the second, third, seventh, and ninth conjugations, has crept into all in Pali, and has continued on into the mediæval period, thus Chand

तिन सु गद्द अच्छी कहहि॥

"*Say thou* a good word of them."—Pr. R. i. 9.

where कहहि = Skr. कथय (हि). In Vedic Skr. हि appears in all the conjugations. Of the Âtmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, *masai*. P. 2 should perhaps be read *hvo*, not *tho*, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit *dhv*.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (liṅ), thus—

PARASMAI.

Skr. S. 1. पचेयं, 2. पचेस्, 3. पचेत्; P. 1. पचेम, 2. पचेत, 3. पचेयुस्.
Pa. S. 1. पचेय्यामि, 2. °य्यासि, 3. °य्य; P. 1. °य्याम, 2. °य्याथ, 3. °य्युं.

ÂTMANE.

Sk. S. 1. पचेय, 2. पचेथास्, 3. पचेत; P. 1. पचेमहि, 2. पचेध्वं, 3. पचेरन्.
Pa. S. 1. पचेय्यं, 2. पचेथो, 3. पचेथ; P. 1. पचेय्याम्हे, 2. °य्यद्वो, 3. पचेरं.

In this tense the point specially to be noticed is the tendency to simplify not only the root-syllable, but the range of terminations also. Having got the syllables *eyya* as the type of the tense, Pali seeks to avoid all further distinctions, and to use as much as possible the personal endings of the present tense. It sometimes conjugates the potential according to the types of other classes, and in this respect follows the lead of the present less faithfully in this tense than in the imperative. Thus, though in the present and imperative of *kar*, it follows the Sanskrit, and has *karoti*, *karotu*, yet in the potential it treats *kar* as if it belonged to the Bhû class, and has *kareyyâmi* as though from a Sanskrit *kareyam* instead of the actual *kuryâm*. There are other peculiarities about this tense which are not here noticed, as having no bearing upon the subject of the modern languages.

The imperfect has been, to some extent, mixed up with the aorist (luṅ), and both, together with the perfect, lead us into considerations which are of interest only for Pali itself, not having survived or had any influence on modern developments. They may therefore be passed over as immaterial to our present inquiry.

The future, on the contrary, offers many interesting peculiarities, especially, as will be seen hereafter, in reference to Gujarati and some of the rustic dialects of Hindi. The future is a *difficult* tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali (√ गम् "go")—

Skr. S. 1. गमिष्यामि, 2. °ष्यसि, 3. °ष्यति; P. 1. °ष्यामस्, 2. °ष्यथ, 3. °ष्यंति.
Pa. S. 1. गमिस्सामि, 2. °स्ससि, 3. °स्सति; P. 1. °स्साम, 2. °स्सथ, 3. °स्संति.

Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of **ष्य** into **स्स**. The Âtmanepada follows the same rule throughout. Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate **इ**, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus √ **पच** "cook," when it has to take the future termination **ष्यति**, becomes **पक्** and **पक + ष्यति = पक्खति**. Here Pali sticks to the form **पच्**, because it is used in the present and makes its future **पचिस्सति** as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future **पचिष्यति** with the intermediate **इ** inserted.

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn[1] gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. √ **लभ्** "get," future **लप्स्यते**. Pali **लच्छति** but also **लभिस्सति**.
√ **वच्** "speak," „ **वक्ष्यते**. „ **वक्खति**.
√ **धा** "put," „ **धास्यति**. „ **धस्सति**.
√ **वस्** "dwell," „ **वत्स्यति**. „ **वच्छति** but also **वसिस्सति**.
√ **छिद्** "cleave," „ **छेत्स्यति**. „ **छेच्छति** „ **छिंदिस्सति**.
√ **भुज्** "eat," „ **भोक्ष्यति**. „ **भोक्खति** „ **भुंजिस्सति**.
√ **मुच्** "loose," „ **मोक्ष्यति**. „ **मोक्खति** „ **मुंचिस्सति**.
√ **श्रु** "hear," „ **श्रोष्यति**. „ **सोस्सति** „ **सुनिस्सति**.

[1] Beiträge, p. 115.

The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate इ seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the *issati* which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the *issa* to them. Thus from दृश् "to see," future द्रक्ष्यति, Pali made a form *dakkhati*, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future *dakkhissati*. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem *dekh* "see" (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. √ शक् "be able," future शक्ष्यति. Pa. सक्खति, whence vulgo सक्खिस्सति.

In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form:

Skr. √ रुद् "weep." Vedic future रोत्स्यति. Pa. रोच्छति.
Classic ditto रोदिष्यति. „ रोदिस्सति.

Occasionally the स्स is softened to ह, as in काहति, काहिति from करिस्सति, Skr. करिष्यति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi dialects generally.

§ 5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Mâgadhi dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a

native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province.[1] This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Mâgadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Mâgadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhâgavatî, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra's writings have been printed or edited. Weber's articles on the Bhâgavatî are at present our only source of information.[2]

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhû type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert न् with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the न् as part of the root, as is also the case with the य of the fourth class. The *a* inserted between the root and termination of the Bhû class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to *i*, or changed to *e* from some confusion between this and the *e* = *aya*, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

[1] Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 7.

[2] Pischel's admirable edition of Hemachandra's Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.

Skr. √ हृ "take,"	i. हरति	Jaina	हरति, हरइ.
√ विद् "know,"	ii. वेत्ति	,,	वेदेइ.
Pl. 3	विदन्ति	,,	वेदेंति.
√ धा "put,"	iii. दधाति		
with अपि,	अपिदधाति	,,	पिहेइ "puts on (clothes)" and पिहाइ.
√ सिध् "succeed,"	iv. सिध्यति	,,	सिज्झइ.
but आराध् "propitiate,"	आराध्यति	,,	आराहेइ.
√ आप् "get,"	v. आप्नोति.		
with प्र, प्राप्,	प्राप्नोति	,,	पाउणइ; the न being treated as part of the root.
√ चि "gather,"	v. चिनोति	,,	चयति, चयइ, but also चिनाइ, with the same confusion between the नो of v. and ना of viii. as occurs in Pali.
√ श्रु "hear,"	v. शृणोति		
with प्रति,	प्रतिशृणोति	,,	पडिसुणेइ "promises."
√ स्पृश् "touch,"	vi. स्पृशति	,,	फुसेइ.
√ भंज् "break,"	vii. भनक्ति	,,	भंजइ.
√ कृ "do,"	viii. करोति	,,	करइ.
√ ग्रह "take,"	ix. गृह्णाति	,,	गेण्हइ, here again the ण has passed into the root.
√ ज्ञा "know,"	ix. जानाति	,,	जाणइ.

The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above being phonetic modifications of words which would be in Sanskrit respectively *harati, vedati, dhâti, ârâdhati, prâpanati,*

chayati, suṇati, bhanjati, karati, grihṇati, and *jânati,* if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhû conjugation.

It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigma in this dialect as in Pali, because we have as yet no grammars, and are obliged to fall back on the words that occur in a single text. The range of tenses appears to consist of a present (corresponding to the Sanskrit laṭ), imperative (loṭ), potential (liṅ), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (lṛit). The perfect (liṭ) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus :—√ नम् "bow."

S. 1. नमामि, 2. नमसि, 3. नमति; P. 1. नमामो, 2. नमह, 3. नमंति.
नमेमि, नमेसि, नमेति; नमेमो, नमेंति.
नमइ; नमिंति.
नमेइ.

Those terminations which contain the vowel *e* have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from *aya,* must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhâg. i. 60, we have *phâseti, pâleti, sobheti, tîreti, pûreti, kitteti, anupâlei, ârâhei,* for Sanskrit स्पर्शयति, पालयति, शोभयति, तारयति, पूरयति, कीर्त्तयति, अनुपालयति, आराधयति, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the S. 2 and P. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending हि as in Pali with junction vowels *â* and *e,* the P. 2 ends in ह, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit थ. Thus—

Skr. √ रुच् "shine," causal रोचय, impv. रोचय, Jaina रोएहि.
श्रद्धा "believe," „ श्रद्धेहि, „ सद्दहाहि (pres. सद्दहइ).
√ बंध् "bind," impv. P. 2. बध्नीत, „ बंधह.

The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination *eyya* with variant *ejja*.

Skr. √ गम् "go," S. 3. गच्छेत् Jaina गच्छेय, गच्छेज्ज.

√ ग्रह "take," „ गृह्णीयात् „ गेण्हेज्ज.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as kujja = kuryât, dajja = dadyât (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. नमिस्सामि, 2. °इस्ससि, 3. °इस्सइ; P. 1. °इस्सामो, 2. °इस्सह, 3. इस्संति.

It also appears with a termination *ihi* produced by weakening स्स into ह and the following *a* to *i*, thus—

Skr. गमिष्यति, Jain गच्छिहिति and गमिहिति.

Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali *dakkhissati*.

Skr. √ पद् "go," with उप, उपपद् "attain," future उपपत्स्यते, Jaina उववज्झिहिति.

Here उपपत्स्यते would phonetically become उववच्छइ, and by still further softening उववज्झइ, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववज्झिस्सइ and उववज्झिहिति.

§ 6. The reduction in the number of tenses necessitates a greatly extended use of participles. This is one great step in the transition from the synthetical to the analytical system. The Sanskrit present active participle takes in that language the characteristics of the ten conjugations, and is declined as a noun in three genders. It ends properly in *ant*, but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as

M.	F.	N.
पचन्	पचन्ती	पचत्.
रुंधन्	रुंधती	रुंधत्.

The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. ज्वलन् ज्वलन्ती ज्वलत्.
Jaina जलंतो जलंती जलंतं.

This peculiarity is worth remembering; much depends on this retention of the nasal, as will be seen when we come to the modern Sindhi and Panjabi verbs.

Very great interest attaches to the participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तव्य. In verbs which do not take intermediate इ, this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the इ in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the त of the termination stands alone between two vowels, and in consonance with Prakrit phonetics is elided. The hiatus thus produced is in the Jaina writings filled by य. If to this we add the regular mutation of व्य into व्व, we get from तव्य the form यव्व. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in *ndus*, as *faciendus*, and expresses that which is to be done, as त्वया गन्तव्यं "by thee it is to be gone," *i.e.* "thou must go." In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhâgavatî, as for instance in § 56:

Jaina एवं देवाणुप्पिया गंतव्वं, चिट्ठियव्वं, निसीतियव्वं, भुंजियव्वं, etc.
Skr. एवं देवानुप्रिया गन्तव्यं, स्थातव्यं, निषत्तव्यं, भोक्तव्यं, etc.

"Thus, O beloved of the gods, must ye go, must ye stand, must ye sit, must ye eat," where the last two words postulate a Sanskrit form with the इ inserted, such as निषीदितव्यं, भुंजितव्यं.

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in तुं has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in इत, with the त elided and

its place supplied by **य**, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhâg. § 54, **इच्छामि पव्वावियं, मुंडावियं, सेहावियं, सिक्खावियं** (Weber, Bhâg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms **प्रव्राजितं, मुण्डापितं, सेधापितं, शिक्षापितं**, the three last being causals formed with *âp*, as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of **प्** is restricted to a few stems.

More will be said on this subject in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary here to note an early instance of this process which takes a much wider development in later times, the infinitive in Gujarati and Oriya and several participial constructions and verbal nouns being derived from it.

§ 7. The scenic Prakrits represent a further step in development. Despite the admittedly artificial character of these dialects, they probably retain forms which were at one time in general use, although that time may not have been the epoch when the dramas were written, and without referring to them, the structure of the modern verb could not be clearly understood. It is expedient to avoid discussing this question, lest attention should be drawn away from the real subject of this work, namely, the *modern* languages. All this part of the present chapter is merely introductory and is only inserted in order to pave the way for a more intelligent appreciation of the origin and growth of Hindi and its fellows.

In the Mâhârâshtri or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhû class, and the same holds good for the Çauraseni or chief prose dialect. Only here and there do we find faint traces of the peculiarities of other conjugations. Of the six phases only three remain, active, passive, and causal. The passive differs from the active only in the form of the root, the characteristic **य** of the

Sanskrit passive having been worked into the stem, and the terminations of the active being added to it. The Âtmanepada and the dual are of course rejected.

Of tenses these dialects have a still more restricted range than the Jaina Prakrits. They have the present, imperative and future, with traces of the potential. The past tense is chiefly formed by the p.p.p. with auxiliary verbs. Thus from √ रुच् "shine,"

Present S. 1. रोचामि, रोचमि, रोचम्हि, 2. रोचसि, 3. रोचदि. रोचइ.

P. 1. रोचामो, °मु, °म, रोचम, °मु, °म्हो, °म्ह, रोचिमो, °मु, 2. रोचध, °ह, °त्थ, °धं. °इत्थ. 3. रोचन्ति.

Here are observable those first indications of a confusion of forms, and uncertainty in their use, which are always characteristic of that period in languages when the synthetical structure is breaking down into the analytical. In these dialects, as in Jaina Prakrit, the practice exists of inserting ए as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as कलेमि "I do," Skr. करोमि, instead of करामि, which would be the regular result of treating कर् as a Bhû verb, गच्छेम्ह for गच्छाम, "let us go." The presence of the ह in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of अस् is used with a past participle; thus we find कदम्हि "I was made" = Sanskrit कृतोऽस्मि, and पेसिदम्हि "I have been sent" = Skr. प्रेषितोऽस्मि.

The imperative has the following forms—

S. 2. रोच, रोचाहि 3. रोचदु. रोचउ. P. 2. रोचध, रोचह 3. रोचंतु.

The S. 2 has also forms रोचस्स, रोचस्सु, pointing to a Sanskrit Âtmane form रोचस्व and P. 2 similarly रोचधं = Skr. रोचध्वं, though neither are used in a middle sense, but are equivalents as regards meaning of the Sanskrit active.

The following are a few examples:

पेक्खस्स "look thou!"	Skr.	प्रेक्षस्व.
णमस्स "bow thou!"	„	नमस्व.
वहध "bear ye."	„	वहत.
जाध "go ye."	„	यात.
अवेध "go away."	„	अपेत.
ओसलध "get out of the way!"	„	अपसरत.
कलेध "do."	„	कुरुत.
जग्गेध "wake up."	„	जागृत.[1]

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in इथ = इस.

S. 1. रोचिस्सामि, 2. रोचिस्ससि, 3. °इस्सइ.
रोचिस्सं

P. 1. °इस्सामो, 2. °इस्सध, 3. °इस्संति.
etc. °इस्सह.

This form is used indifferently with roots of all classes as in Pali, but here also there still subsist some traces of a future formed without the intermediate इ. Vararuchi (vii. 16, 17) gives the following:—

Skr. √ श्रु "hear,"	fut.		श्रोष्यामि.	Pr.	सोच्छं.
√ वच् "speak,"	„		वक्ष्यामि.	„	वोच्छं.
√ गम् "go,"	„		[गंस्यामि].	„	गच्छं.
√ रुद् "weep,"	„	Ved.	रोत्स्यामि.	„	रोच्छं.
√ विद् "know,"	„		वेत्स्यामि.	„	वेच्छं.

These forms are, however, justly regarded as exceptions; for the rule in scenic, as in other, Prakrits is to retain throughout the root-form of the present. The regular type of the future is that in *issa-*, and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way, सुणिस्सइ, वचिस्सइ, गमिस्सइ, etc. This स्स

[1] Some of these are Mâgadhi Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Mâgadhi and Çauraseni.

is softened to ह, and the following vowel is weakened to र, producing as characteristic the syllables *ihi*. Thus—

√ हस् "laugh," S. 1. हसिहिमि. 2. हसिहिसि, 3. हसिहिर्, etc.

By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोच्छं, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like *dakkhissati* in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोच्छिस्सति, and सोच्छिहिति.

The various tenses which in Sanskrit indicate past time have already in Pali and the earlier Prakrits been fused down into one. In scenic Prakrit a further step is taken, and the syllables *ia*, erroneously written *ia* in some MSS., are added to the root for all persons of the past tense (Var. vii. 23, 24. Lassen, Inst. Pr., 353). This is probably the neuter of the p.p.p. in Sanskrit, and its use is due to the frequency of the construction with the instrumental. Instead of saying "I saw, I went, I heard," the people said, "by me seen, gone, heard." This point is one of great importance in modern Hindi and Gujarati.

§ 8. While the Maharashtri and Çauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Mâgadhi, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhraṇça. I do not wish here to touch upon the question whether the dialect called by this name in the dramas really represents the speech of any particular Indian province or not. I assume, for the sake of convenience, that Apabhraṇça is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashtri or Çauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhraṇças, probably there were. In this section I am merely seeking to put together examples of verbal forms in a dialect one step nearer to modern times than the principal scenic Prakrits, and having done so, shall go on to my own special subject.

All that we can expect in the way of tenses after what has been said in the preceding sections, is a present, an imperative, and a future. The rest of the verbal work is done by participles.

√ प्रच्छ् "ask," Present S. 1. पुच्छामि, पुच्छमि, °एमि °इमि. 2. °असि, 3. °अइ. एइ.

P. 1. पुच्छाम, 2. पुच्छह, °एह. 3. °अंति.

√ कृ "do," Imperative S. 2. करहि, करे, करि, कर, कर. P. 1. करउं, करऊ. P. 2. करह. करहु.

In the future, although the form with the characteristic *issa* is found as सुमरिस्सदि = स्मरिष्यति, Skr. √ स्मृ, yet more commonly we find the form in which स्स has been softened to ह; thus

S. 1. करिहिमि, 2. करिहिसि, 3. करिहिइ, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in ङ्ं as कासाङ्ं = करिष्याम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तव्यं becomes इव्वं, as करइव्वं and करिव्वं = करितव्य (कर्त्तव्य). The gerund ends in प्पि, प्पिणु, and a softened form वि; the ordinary Çauraseni form इअ, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in एवउं, as लेहेवउं, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final उं, there is an analogy in the true infinitive लहणउं, which very closely approaches to Chand's forms, as वरणउं, वरणवुं.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhrança, others and those more genuine fragments of popular speech are to be picked out from scraps that have

been preserved by bards. It is much to be wished that we had more of Hemachandra's works accessible, as in them we should doubtless find a rich mine of such words. Thus for all past tenses there is the participial form in इउं for all three persons, as

जाणिउं = जानितं (ज्ञातं).
कहिउं = कथितं.
अप्पिउं = अर्पितं.

It has a plural in आ or या, as:

आया = आगताः
वारिया = वारिताः
उट्ठिया = उत्थिताः

Sometimes also the *u* of the singular is rejected and *a* substituted, as भणिअं = भणितं. There are other forms to be found in these poems which will be referred to hereafter when the modern forms which they illustrate are under discussion.

As a general result from the preceding brief sketches it may be asserted that Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits taken collectively as the languages of the earlier stage have a common structure, though in different grades. Sanskrit, with its full range of synthetical tenses, yet admits here and there analytical constructions. Pali does the same, though its synthetical tenses are fewer and simpler. The Prakrits reduce the tenses still further, and make greater use of participial constructions. The treatment of the root-syllable also shows a gradually increasing tendency to simplification, for whereas in Sanskrit it is changed in form repeatedly in the various tenses, a practice begins in Pali and grows more common as we go down the stream, of using in all parts of the verb that form of the root which is found in the Sanskrit present.

From the review of these languages given above the passive and causal have been purposely omitted, because the parts which they play in the development of the modern verb are peculiar,

and will be better understood when seen side by side with the modern forms. The desiderative and intensive have left few or no traces of their existence, and may be passed over unnoticed.

§ 9. We may now approach the languages of the present day, and the discussion becomes more minute and particular. Though the verb of the new world has ways of its own, yet it stretches out hands across the gulf of centuries to the old world verb, and supports its claim to descent from it by still preserving traces unmistakeable, though often faint and irregular, of the ancient forms and systems.

As in the noun, so also in the verb, the first thing to be considered is the stem. The modern verbal stem undergoes no changes, but remains absolutely the same throughout all moods, tenses and persons. To this rule there is a small though important exception, consisting of some participles of the preterite passive which are derived direct from the Prakrit forms, and are thus early Tadbhavas. The number of these early Tadbhava participles differs in the various languages. They are most numerous, as might be expected, in Sindhi, which has a hundred and forty of them in a total of about two thousand verbs. In Panjabi, Gujarati and Marathi the number is rather less, while in Hindi only five, and in Bengali and Oriya only two exist. They will be found, together with their derivations, in Chapter III. §§ 46, 47, 48.

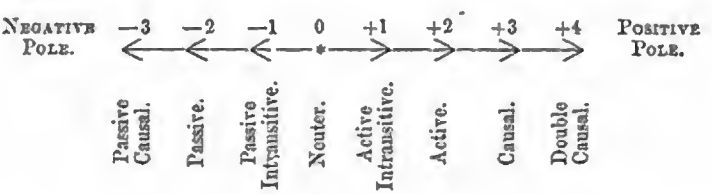
With this slight exception the verbal stem remains unaltered throughout. Thus, having got, by means hereafter to be explained, the word *sun* for "hear," Hindi simply tacks on to it the terminations; thus *sunnā* to hear, *suntā* hearing, *sunā* heard, *sunũ̃* I hear, *sune* he hears, *suno* hear ye! *sunegā* he will hear, *sunkar* having heard.

Primary stems are almost always monosyllabic, but secondary or derivative stems have often more syllables than one. The

latter may be brought under three heads. First, stems derived from Sanskrit roots with which a preposition has already been compounded, principally उत्, नि, प्र, and सं, as *utar* "descend," *nikal* "go out," *pasar* "spread," *sankoch* "distress." Second, stems formed by reduplication, as *jhanjhan* "tinkle," *tharthar* "flutter." Third, stems with an added syllable, as *guṭak* "swallow," *ghasiṭ* "drag," *karkach*, "bind."

It was seen above that in the old world verb there were six phases, and that two of these, the desiderative and intensive, have since been lost. The modern verb having to provide for active, neuter, passive, causal and other phases, has been obliged to have recourse to processes of its own, by which it arrives at the possession of a much wider range than Sanskrit can boast of, and does it too by far simpler means. Partly this result is obtained by ingenious adaptations of Prakrit forms, partly by modifications of, or additions to, its own stems, and partly by combining two stems together. It will first, therefore, be necessary to examine what phases the modern verb has, and then to proceed to examine the processes by which it has provided itself with the necessary forms for each phase.

§ 10. Those phases which are expressed by one word may be ranged as regards meaning in a regular scale of grades of action, according to the degree and kind of activity they express. In the following scheme we take the neuter as the point of quiescence, and trace degrees which start from it towards a positive pole indicating activity, and a negative pole indicating passivity.



The foregoing table looks, I fear, somewhat fanciful, but I know not how better to express a matter which is a striking and very important feature in the modern Aryan verb. It may be explained by considering each phase separately.

The neuter verb (0) expresses neither action nor passion. It conceives of the subject as in a condition of more existence, as *being* something, not *doing*, and is therefore the simplest phase of verbal description. Pure neuter verbs are *ho* "be," *rah* "remain."

The next grade is the active intransitive (+1) which conceives of the subject as indeed acting, but acting in such a way that his action does not pass beyond himself to affect an external object, as *soch* "think," *chal* "walk," *phir* "revolve."

The active transitive comes next (+2). In this the subject is considered as acting in such a way that his action affects external objects, as *mâr* "beat," *khâ* "eat," *pi* "drink."

The next grade is the causal (+3), in which the subject acts upon an external object in such a way as to cause it to act in its turn upon a second object, as H. *sunâ* "cause to hear," H. *phirâ* "cause to turn."

In some of the languages there is a yet further grade, the double causal (+4), in which the subject causes the first object to set in motion a second object, so that it affects a third object, as S. *phcrâ* "cause to cause to turn," S. *ghârâ* "cause to cause to wound."

Returning now to the neuter or central point, and starting off again in the opposite direction towards the negative pole, we arrive at the passive intransitive (−1). In this phase the subject not only takes no action, but is himself under the influence of exterior agencies. It differs as much from the neuter on one hand as from the passive on the other, and is a sort of middle voice. It is called in Sanskrit grammar *Bhâva-* or *Sahya-bheda*, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-

isting in the other languages also, as G. *abhaḍá* "be polluted" (be in a state of pollution), H. *ban* "be built" (be in process of construction).

The passive (−2) is that phase which regards the subject as no longer an agent, but as being acted upon, as S. *dhoija* "be washed."

Lastly comes the passive causal (−3), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. *mâravi* "cause to be struck."

It must not be supposed that all of these phases are found in every language. On the contrary, in none of the languages are there separate forms for each phase. It is only on reviewing the whole seven in a body that the full range of phases is seen. Generally speaking, the eight phases are represented by six sets of forms:

1. Neuter,	including	0, +1 and −1.
2. Active,	,,	+2.
3. Passive,	,,	−2.
4. Causal,	,,	+3.
5. Passive Causal,	,,	−3.
6. Double Causal,	,,	+4.

The double causal and passive have separate and distinct forms only in Sindhi. The passive, however, is found in some rustic dialects of Hindi. Generally the use of the passive construction is avoided by having recourse to the passive intransitive (−1) or the neuter (0), the former of which has a distinct form in Gujarati, Old Hindi, and Bengali, and in the construction of sentences in which it is used resembles the active, like *vapulo* in Latin.

Of the above phases the neuter and active are the simplest, the other forms being derived from them by the addition of syllables or internal modifications; the secret of the formation

of the modern verb is therefore to be sought for in the neuter and active.

§ 11. Some verbal stems are found only in the neuter form, others, again, only in the active, while a third and somewhat large class has both a neuter and an active form. For convenience, the first two classes may be called single stems, and the last double stems. Those double stems arise from the circumstance that two separate but, so to speak, twin verbs, have been made by the moderns out of one old Aryan root, each modern stem being derived from a different part of the old verb, as will be shown further on.

Among single stems, those which are neuter (including active intransitive and passive intransitive) supply the place of an active by employing the causal, thus H. बनना (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active बनाना "to make," which is really a passive causal, meaning "to cause to be made." Those single stems which are active mostly require no neuter, but should it be necessary to express one, the passive intransitive is used, as कहना "to tell," कहलाना "to be called."

Moreover, in Sanskrit there is a class of verbs derived from nouns, and called denominatives, which express the being in the state described by the parent noun, and sometimes (though more rarely) the action of the subject. Verbs of this sort are common in all languages of the Aryan stock, and notably so in modern English, where a verb may be formed almost at will from any noun; thus we say "to eye," "to mouth," "to beard," "to house oneself," "to shoe a horse," etc. In Sanskrit these verbs take the form of the tenth conjugation, or perhaps it would be more correct to regard them as causals. Examples are Sanskrit *agadyati* "he is in good health," from *agada* "healthy"; *chapaláyate* "he trembles," from *chapala* "tremulous"; *paṇḍitáyate* "he is learned," or "he acts the

pedant," from *paṇḍita* "a (so-called) learned man";[1] *yoktrayati* "he yokes," from *yoktram* "a yoke." Probably from this cause it arises that there are in the moderns neuter verbs with a causal termination, as M. कडकाविणें "to bang," "crack," H. घबराना "to be amazed," चंचलाना "to totter." See § 28.

All these points will be noticed in detail in their proper place, they are cursorily mentioned here as an introduction to the general subject, and to show that there is an interchange and playing to and fro of forms and meanings which is somewhat difficult to unravel, and the more so as in colloquial usage the verbs are often very laxly and capriciously employed.

§ 12. Single neuter verbs are to a great extent early Tadbhavas as far as their stems are concerned, and consequently retain the Prakrit type. Thus they exhibit few or no traces of the tenfold classification of the Sanskrit or of the numerous phonetic changes that take place in the interior of the verb, but follow as a rule the form of the root in the present tense of the Bhû class. Here follows a list of some of the simplest and most used stems in the modern languages derived from verbs which in Sanskrit are Bhû. In the dictionaries the modern verbs are generally shown under the infinitive mood, but in the following lists I have thought it better to give only the stem; the reader can add the form of the infinitives if he wishes to refer to them in the dictionaries, as H. ना, P. णा or ना, S. णु, G. वुं, M. णें, O. ିବା. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. √ भू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and होति, Pr. भोदि, होदि, होइ, H. हो and so in all, except S. ञ्ञ, and in O. ହୋଇ is contracted

[1] A *pandit* in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.

to हे. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).

√ चल् "move," चलति, Pa. *id.* Pr. चलइ, H. S. चल, P. चल्ल, G. चाल, चळ, M. चाल, चल, चळ, O. B. चाल.

√ लग् "stick," लगति, Pa. लगति and लग्गति, Pr. लग्गइ, where the ग्ग is probably caused by the passive लग्यते or the p.p.p. लग्ग, H. लग, P. लग्ग, S. लग्, in the rest लाग. It is neuter in the moderns.

√ कम्प् "tremble," कम्पति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. कंपइ, H. कंप, कांप, P. कम्ब, S. कंब, G. M. B. कांप, O. कम्प.

√ भ्रम् "wander," Pa. भ्रमति, Pr. भ्रमइ (Vik. iv. *passim*), H. भ्रम, भौं, भंव, P. भरम, भौं or भउं, S. भर्म, भम, भउ, भंव, G. भ्रम, भम, M. भोव, भोंव.

There is little that is remarkable in the above list, the modern forms being regularly produced by the working of the usual phonetic laws. The verb *sthâ* "stand," being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages:

	SKR.	PA.	PR.		
√ स्था and ष्ठा i. S. 3 pres.	तिष्ठति	तिट्ठति ठाति	चिट्ठइ (*Mâg.*), चिट्ठइ (*Çaur.*), ठाअइ, ठाइ (Var. viii. 25, 26).		
	P. 3. तिष्ठंति	तिट्ठंति, ठांति	चिट्ठंति,	चिट्ठंति,	ठांति.
Impv.	S. 2. तिष्ठ	तिट्ठ	चिट्ठ,	चिट्ठ,	ठाहि.
	S. 3. तिष्ठतु.	तिट्ठतु, ठातु	चिट्ठदु,	चिट्ठदु,	ठाउ.
Future	S. 3. स्थास्यति	ठस्सति			ठाहिइ.
Infin.	स्थातुं	ठातुं	चिट्ठिदुं.		
P.p.p.	स्थितं	ठिट्ठं	चिट्ठिदं,	ट्ठिअं,	ठिअं.
Gerund	स्थित्वा	ठत्वा, ठत्वान	ठित्त,	ठित्र.	

Of the three forms in *Prakrit* that having ठा as its root-syllable has survived to modern times, though in most cases with the dental instead of the cerebral aspirate. In H. there is only a

fragment in the shape of a past participle S. थ्या *m.* थी *f.*, P. थे *m.* थीं *f.* S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

		S.	G.	O.
Infinitive		थिअणु "to be."	थवुं (थाअवुं)	थिवा (थाइवा)
Aorist	S. 1.	थिआं	थाउ	थाएं
(=Skr. pres.)	2.	थिएं, थीं	थाअ (थाय)	थाउ
	3.	थिए	थाअ (थाय)	थाए
	P. 1.	थिऊं	थइए	थाउं
	2.	थिओ	थाओ	थाअ
	3.	थिअनि	थाय	थांति
Present part.		थींदो	थतो	थाउं
Past part.		थिओ	थओ and थयेलो	थिला
Future	S. 3.	थींदो	थशे	थिव
	P. 3.	थींदा	थशे	थिवे

The structure of these forms will be found discussed in Ch. IV. § 69. M. has an old poetical ठेणें "to be," but from the Pr. form चिट्ठ there is, as far as I know, only one descendant, and that is the modern Oriya adjective चिडा "standing," which seems to point to Pr. चिट्ठिअं, Skr. स्थितं.

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit स्था and Latin *sta* in their respective descendants. Both roots survive, but have almost entirely lost the sense of "standing," and have come to mean "be," "become." In S. G. and O. the above quoted verbs are used as auxiliaries denoting a more special and definite kind of being or becoming, and are thus distinguished from the less definite auxiliaries derived from भू or अस्. Sindhi *huanu* and *thiaṇu*, Gujarati *hovuṇ* and *thavuṇ*, Oriya *hoibâ* and *thibâ*, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish *ser* from *esse* does to *estar* (from *stare*). Thus *Pedro es enamorado* "Pedro is loving (by disposition)," but *Pedro está enamorado* "Pedro is in love (with some one)." So *el es bueno* "he is good (by nature)," but *el está bueno* "he is

well (in health)." In Italian, although *stare* still means "to stand," yet it is constantly and regularly used in the sense of being, thus *sto leggendo* "I am reading," does not imply that the speaker stands while he reads, but merely indicates that he is engaged in reading; just so an Oriya would say *paṛhu thâuṇ*. *Stai bene?* "art thou well?" *sta qui vicino* "he is living close by," would be correctly rendered in O. by the exactly parallel expressions *bhala thâü?* and *ethi nikaṭ thâe*. In French, as in Hindi, the verb has been lost, and a Frenchman has to use the roundabout expression *il se tient debout* for "he is standing," literally "he holds himself on end," just in the same way as the Indian has to say *kharâ hai* literally "he is propped up," (खडा = Pr. खड्ढा = Skr. स्कब्ध from √ स्कभ् to support).

§ 13. Examples of verbs derived from roots which in Sanskrit belong to other conjugations than the first are now adduced to show how completely all traces of the peculiarities of those conjugations have been abandoned.

Skr. √ या "go," ii. याति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. जादि and जाअदि (the latter as if from a Bhû verb याअति), H. जा, P. M. B. *id.*, G. and O. retain जा in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. जि.

√ स्वप् "sleep," ii. स्वपिति, Pa. सुपति, Pr. सुवइ, सुअइ, सुवेइ, H. सो, P. सौं, S. सुम्ह, G. सु, B. and O. सो.

√ भी "fear," iii. बिभेति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीअइ, भाअदि, वीहइ (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. वीह, वीही, विह (not in the rest).

√ नृत "dance," iv. नृत्यति, Pa. नच्चति, Pr. णच्चइ, H. नाच, P. नच्च, S. नच, G. M. O. B. नाच्.

√ शक् "be able," v. शक्नोति and iv. शक्यति, Pa. सक्कति, सक्कोति, सक्कुणोति, Pr. सक्कइ, सक्कणोति, and सक्कु°, H. सक, P. सक्क, S. सघ, G. M. शक.

In *nâch*, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic य of the Div class seems to have got mixed up

with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in *sak* both Pali and Prakrit retain some traces of the peculiar type of the Su class, the moderns entirely reject them and form as if from a Bhû root, thus H. सके "he can," postulates a Sanskrit शक्नति, and so with the other languages.

How the following verb came by its modern form I know not, but all the authorities agree in referring it to √ ब्रू. It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps ब्रू became बूर, and so बूल and बोल.[1]

Skr. √ ब्रू "speak," ii. ब्रवीति and ब्रूते, Pr. बोल्लइ (Mṛich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बुल्ल (*o* is short in Pr.), H. बोल, S. बोल, all the rest बोल.

§ 14. In the above examples the modern verb retains the form of the present tense, but there is a tolerably large class of stems which retain the type of the p.p.p. of Sanskrit as modified by the Prakrits.[2] These verbs express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. The past participle of the Sanskrit has been treated as an adjective and a new verb formed form it, just as in English we have verbs "to contract," "to respect," "to edit," from the Latin *contractus, respectus, editus,* the respective past participles of *contrahere, respicere* and *edere.*

The modern Romance languages often preserve a long string of nouns derived from a Latin verbal root, while they have lost the verb itself; for instance, French, while it possesses no verb

[1] Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives *bollaï* as one of the ten Prakritisms of *kath;* he means it evidently not as derived from *kath,* which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Pischel's Hem. iv. 2). In the same sûtra he gives also *sanghaï* for *kath,* in which we see the origin of M. *sângaṇeṃ* "to speak." Hemachandra has also *bollïaï* = kathayishyati (iv. 360), *bollïum* = kathayitum, *bollïeṃ* = kathyante (*ṭ*), ib. 383. But he gives *bruva* as the equivalent of *brû* in iv. 391, so that the origin of *bol* still remains doubtful.

[2] This process was indicated by me in Vol. I. p. 179. Hoernle afterwards discussed it as if it was his own discovery in Indian Antiquary, vol. i. p. 357. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.

directly representing the Latin *sta* "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as *station*, *étage*, from *statio*, *état* from *status*. From these nouns fresh verbs are derived, as *stationner* and the like. So also the modern Indian languages, while they have lost such roots as *dip*, *kram*, as verbs, have nouns *dipá*, *diyá* and derivatives, also *krama* as a noun with numerous secondary formations.

Analogous to this is the practice we are now discussing of forming verbs from Sanskrit participles, a practice which begins as early as Prakrit, and appears to have arisen from the habit mentioned in § 2 of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with अस्, as in गतोऽस्मि "I have gone." It was pointed out in § 7 that this practice had been extended in Prakrit so widely that it had resulted in giving a termination in म्हि to the present tense, as in पेसिद्म्हि. Examples are:

Skr. √ विश् "enter," with उप, उपविश् "take a seat," *i.e.* to pass from a standing to a sitting posture, p.p.p. उपविष्ट "seated," Pa. उपविट्ठो, Pr. उवविट्ठो, and later उवट्ठो, whence, by rejection of उ, H. बैठ, P. *id.*, M. बैस, where the last consonant is due to a confusion between बैठ् and बस. G. has बेश्, which is from Skr. pres. उपविशति. Its p.p.p. is बेठो. S. also विह by softening of स to ह, p.p.p. बेठो. With प्र, प्रविश्, "enter," "penetrate," P. पविट्ठो, Pr. पट्ठो, whence H. पैठ, "to enter" (generally with the idea of penetrating forcibly). G. again पेश् from प्रविशति, p.p.p. पेठो, S. पिह, p.p.p. पेठो.

Skr. √ पच् "cook," पचति, p.p.p. पक्क, Pa. Pr. पक्को, H. पक "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?" your man answers, पकता "It is being cooked"), P. पक्क, G. पाक, M. पिक. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. पाक. There is also a stem from the present पचति, as S. पच् "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पको. H. and all the rest have पच, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. √ शुष् "dry," p.p.p. शुष्क, Pa. Pr. सुक्खो, H. सूख "to be dry," P. सुक्ख, S. G. M. सुक, B. O. शुक.

Skr. √ भञ्ज् "break," p.p.p. भग्न, Pa. Pr. भग्गो, H. भाग "to flee" (said originally of an army, "to be broken up and dispersed"), G. भाग, M. भांग, "to yield, give way," also भंग *a*, "to break," O. भांग. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhû भंजति, Pa. भंजति, Pr. भंजइ, H. भंज "to be broken," and भज. (See § 19.)

Skr. √ गम् "go," with उद्, p.p.p. उद्गत "sprung up," Pr. उग्गओ, H. उग, "to spring up" (as a plant), P. उग्ग, S. G. उग, M. उगव.

It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from √ भृ with उद्. The present would be उद्भरति, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is उद्भृत, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has उब्भरिओ as if from Skr. उद्भरित, so that the modern verbs उभर, उभल, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is उद् "to rise," but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from √ उद् + स्था Skr. makes उत्था "to stand up."

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Present	S. 3. उत्तिष्ठति	उट्ठहति, उट्ठाति	उट्ठदि, उट्ठेदि, उट्ठेइ
Impv.	S. 2. उत्तिष्ठ	उट्ठह	उट्ठेहि
	S. 3. उत्तिष्ठतु	उट्ठतु	उट्ठेउ
Future	S. 3. उत्थास्यति	उट्ठहिस्सदि	उट्ठिस्सइ
Pres. part.	उत्तिष्ठत्	उट्ठन्तो	उट्ठंतो
P.p.p.	उत्थित	उट्ठितो	उट्ठिदो, उट्ठिओ
Infin.	उत्थातुं	उट्ठातुं	—
Gerund	उत्थाय	उट्ठाय, उट्ठहित्वा	उट्ठिअ

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem उट्ठ, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhû verb throughout. It seems as though उद् being com-

pounded with ष्ठा had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form उष्ठा, whence Prakrit उट्ठ. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping उद् intact, has sacrificed the स of स्था in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. उठ, P. उट्ठ, S. उथ and उठ, and in all the rest उठ.

The stem रह् has undergone a change of meaning which is explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. √ रह "desert," रहति, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., रहिओ (= रहित) in the sense of "deserted," then almost adverbially, as "without," hence probably the meaning which it bears in the modern languages, "to stop," "stay," "remain," from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is रह in H. and all except M. राह, G. रेह. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पढते रहो "go on reading." (See § 72, 10).

§ 15. Single active stems exhibit the same method of formation as the single neuter stems given in § 12. A few examples are given of roots which in Sanskrit are of the Bhû, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. √ खाद् "eat," खादति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. खाइ (Var. viii. 27, for खाअइ), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy *khava*, Kash. *khyun*, Singhalese *kanavâ*.[1]

Skr. √ चर्व "chew," चर्वति, Pr. चव्वइ, H. चाव, P. चब्ब, S. चब्, G. M. चाव, O. चोवा, B. चाव.

Skr. √ पठ् "read," पठति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. पढइ, H. पढ (parh), P. M. G. *id.*, S. पडह (which is only their way of writing पढ), B. पड, O. पढ़.

Skr. √ प्रच्छ् "ask," पृच्छति, Pa. पुच्छति, Pr. पुच्छइ, H. पूछ, P. पुच्छ, G. B. *id.*, M. पुस् (see Vol. I. p. 218), O. पुछ, पचार.

Skr. √ मार्ग् (and मृग्) "seek," i. मार्गति, x. मार्गयति, Pa. मग्गति and मग्गेति, Pr. मग्गइ, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मङ् (*mang*), G. M. माग, B. मांग, O. माग.

[1] Childers, in J.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 146.

Skr. √ रक्ष् "keep," रक्षति, Pa. रक्खति, Pr. रक्खइ, H. रख "keep," also simply "to put," पोथी को पीढे पर रखो "put the book on the stool," P. रक्ख, S. रख, G. M. B. राख, O. रख, Singh. *rakinavâ*.

Skr. √ कथ् "say," कथयति, P. कथेति, Pr. कहइ, कहेइ, H. कह, P. S. B. O. *id.* In M. it is wanting. G. केह, Singh. *kiyanavâ*.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhû type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjugational peculiarities the moderns do not. They take in most instances the root-form of the present as it occurs in Prakrit, and keep it throughout. Instances are:

Skr. √ ज्ञा "know," ix. जानाति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. जाणाति, also जाणइ (Pr. keeps जाण throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having आणादि, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जाण. Gipsy *janava*, Kash. *zânun*, Singh. *dannavâ*.

Skr. √ कृ "do," viii. करोति, Pa. *id.* (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. कुणइ and करइ and the stem कर is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but कर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. √ श्रु "hear," v. शृणोति, Pa. सुणोति, सुणाति, Pr. सुणइ, H. सुन, and in all सुन or सुण.

Skr. √ आप "get," v. आप्नोति (but also i. आपति), Pa. आपुनोति, आपुनाति and अप्पोति, Pr. (see § 5) आवइ, seldom used alone. Old H. अप्प "to obtain," also used in the sense of giving.

अप्प शक्ति सरसें सबल ॥

"Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasen (Saraswati)."
—Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

Also G. आप "to give," which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from अर्प् (चु). Far more common is the compound with प्र = प्राप, Pa. as above. Pr. पाउणइ and later पावइ, Old H. and P. पाउ, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. *id.*, G. पाम, M. पाव, B. पाओ. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.

Skr. √ ग्रह "seize," ix. गृह्णाति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गण्ह, and Pr. generally गेण्ह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 3. गृह्णाति	गण्हाति, गण्हति	गेण्हइ
Âtm. Pres.	S. 1. गृह्णे	„ „	गेण्हे
1 Aor.	S. 3. अग्रहीत्	अग्गहि, अग्गंहि	„
Impv.	S. 2. गृहाण	गण्ह, गण्हहि	गेण्ह, गेण्हह
	S. 3. गृह्णातु	गण्हदु	गेण्हदु
Impv. Âtm.	P. 2. गृह्णीध्वं	गण्हद्धो	गेण्हध
Fut.	S. 1. ग्रहीष्यामि	गण्हिस्सं	गेण्हिस्सं
	S. 3. ग्रहीष्यति	गण्हिस्सति, गहेस्सति	गेण्हिस्सइ
Infin.	ग्रहीतुं	गण्हितुं	गेण्हिदुं, गहिदुं, घेत्तुं
P.p.p.	गृहीत	गहितो	गहिदो, गिहिदो
Gerund	गृहीत्वा	गण्हित्वा	गेण्हिअ, घेत्तून

There are thus two types in Pa. *gaṇh* and *gah*, and three in Pr. *geṇh*, *gah*, and *ghe*. The double *t* in *ghettum* and *ghettúna* arises, I fancy, from *e* being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

In the modern languages H. has गह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also गह. But M. घे "take," is very much used, as also S. गिन्ह, and O. घेन, the other languages prefer the stem ले from लभ्. Singh. *gannavâ*, perhaps Gipsy *gelava*, is connected with this root, though it means rather "to bring." (Paspati, p. 241.)

§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. √ दा "give," iii. ददाति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier

common root which has been lost. Thus we have √ दा, iii. ददाति "give," √ दा or दो, ii. दाति and iv. द्यति "divide," √ दाय, i. दायते and दे i. दयते. Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini's about reduplication, have imagined a √ ददे, i. ददते, but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence.[1] It is also to be observed that in some roots in *â* there are traces of a form in *e* or *ai*, which may perhaps be the older form, as गा and गै "to sing," ध्या and ध्यै "to meditate," ग्ला and ग्लै "to languish," म्ला and म्लै "to wither," त्रा and त्रै "to rescue," मा and मे "to measure." Also roots ending in *â* exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to *i* or *e*. It is not within our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root दा began to be superseded by दे, and that in the modern languages the universal form is *DE*. The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

		SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 1.	ददामि	ददामि, देमि, दम्मि, दज्जामि	देमि
	S. 3.	ददाति	ददाति, देति, दज्जति	देइ, दइ
	P. 1.	दद्मः	दम्म, देम	देमो
	P. 3.	ददति	देंति	देंति
Impv.	S. 2.	देहि	देहि	देहि
	S. 3.	ददातु	देतु	देउ
Âtm.	P. 2.	दद्ध्वं	देथ, ददाथ	देध
Fut.	S. 3.	दास्यति	दस्सति	दइस्सइ, दाहइ
Infin.		दातुं	दातुं	दाउं, देउं
Pres. Part.		ददत्	ददन्तो, देन्तो	देंतो (देंती f.)
P.p.p.		दत्त	दिन्नो	दिण्णो
Gerund		दत्त्वा	दत्वा, दाय, ददित्वा	दाऊण, दच्चा, दइअ

[1] Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.

Childers thinks the form *deti* has arisen either from Sanskrit *dayate*, or from confusion with the imperative *dehi*. The form *dajjati* he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of *dekh* (see § 4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form दे is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. दे, P. M. G. *id.*, S. डिअ, B. alone has दा, O. दे, shortened in some tenses to दि. Gipsy *dava*, Kash. *dyun*, Singh. *denava*. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbhava forms.

Further examples are:

Skr. √ पा "drink," i. पिवति [Vedic पाति, there is also √ पी, iv. पीयते], Pa. पिवति and पिव°, Pr. पिअइ, H. पी, S. and B. पि, in all the rest पी. Gipsy *pîva*, Kash. *chyun*, perhaps through an old form *pyun*, Singh. *bonava*, p.p.p. *bî*.

Skr. √ नी "lead," i. नयति, Pa. नयति, नेति, Pr. नेइ, णेइ (pres. part. णअंतो = Skr. नयन्, fut. णइस्सं = Skr. नेष्यामि, Impv. णेह = Skr. नय). Used in the moderns only in composition, thus—

(*a*) With आ = आनी "bring," Pa. आनेति, Pr. आणेइ, H. आन "bring," in all the rest आण. Kashm. *anun*, Gipsy *andva*.

(*b*) With परि = परिनी "lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony," hence, "to marry," Old-H. परण, परना, P. परनाज, S. पर्ण, G. M. परण.

Skr. √ डी "fly," with उद् = उड्डी "fly up," i. उड्डयते, iv. उड्डीयते, Pr. उड्डेइ, H. उड (ur) "to fly," and so in all. S. has उडिर, probably a diminutive. Kashm. *wudun*, Gipsy *uryáva*.

The root या "to go," was mentioned above; with the preposition आ forming आया, it means "to come," and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived:

Skr. आया "come," ii. आयाति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. आआइ, आइ, H. आ "to come," P. *id.*, G. आव, M. ये, Gipsy *avdva*, Kash. *yun*. The B.

आइस, O. आस, S. अच seem to come from आगच्छति, but both in B. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. *āsilā* or *āilā*, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. *āu*, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

In the roots ending in long *i* the modern languages have words descended from compound verbs only, and in them the final vowel of the root has dropped out altogether, while in roots ending in long *a* there is a tendency to soften the final vowel into *i* or *e*.

§ 17. A few words must be given to a verb which has been somewhat hotly discussed of late. In all the modern languages except perhaps M., the idea of seeing is expressed by *dekh*. Kashmiri has *deshun*, Gipsy *dikáva*, and Singhalese *dikanava*. The root is in Sanskrit √ दृश्, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पश्यति, from which M. derives its verb पाह. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of *dekh*. From √ दृश् comes future द्रक्ष्यति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali दक्खति. He shows[1] that in the earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future sense, and only in later times becomes a present. As I hinted above (§ 4, p. 16), it is very probable that the vulgar, missing in this word the characteristic *issa* of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future *dakkhissati*. A similar process has been shown to have taken place in several verbs in Prakrit. Pischel draws attention to a fact pointed out in Vol. I. p. 162 of this work, that there is much similarity between *dekh* and the Prakrit *pekkh* from Sanskrit प्रेक्ष्. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word *dekh* was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used *pekkh*, which has been changed to *dekkh* by the copy-

[1] In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 450. Pischel's article is in the same work.

ists who heard this latter word used round them every day, while they did not know of *pekh*. Unfortunately for this ingenious theory, it happens that the word *pekh* is extremely common in Hindi, Bangali, and Panjabi literature of the middle ages, and is still used in many rustic dialects of Hindi. The idea of a northern Indian scribe not knowing *pekh* is quite untenable. Weber (Prakrit Studien, p. 69) has a long article on this subject, controverting the views of Childers as supported by Pischel. The learned professor would derive *dekkh* from the desiderative of दृश्, which is दिदृक्षते, but I am unable to follow the arguments adduced, or to see how a word meaning "to wish to see" should come to mean "to see." Nor do there appear to be any actual facts in support of this theory, such as texts in which the word occurs in a transitional state of meaning or form. The few desideratives that have left any traces in modern times retain the desiderative meaning, as *piyâsá* "thirsty," from *pipâsu* (see Vol. II. p. 81). However, I must say to the learned disputants—

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

For my own part the impression I derive from the controversy is that *dekh* is derived through *dekkh* from *dakkh*, which is Sanskrit future द्रक्ष्यति turned into a present by a vulgar error. The idea suggested by me (in Vol. I. p. 161 *et seqq.*) must be modified accordingly. It was not so entirely erroneous as Pischel thinks, for Sanskrit श् represents an older क्, which seems to be preserved in the future.

§ 18. The examples adduced in the preceding sections will have sufficiently illustrated the most salient peculiarities in the formation of the ordinary single verbs whether neuter or active, and I now pass on to the more difficult subject of the double verbs. As I mentioned before, there is a very large class of these; they appear in two forms, one of which is active and

occasionally even causal, the other is neuter or passive intransitive. It is after much consideration that I have come to the conclusion that this is the right way to regard them. It might be said that the forms which are here spoken of as neuters are really passives, and a rule might be laid down that these languages often form their passive by what the Germans call *umlaut* or substitution of weaker vowels. Childers in fact takes this view as regards Singhalese in the article already quoted (J. R. A. S. vol. viii. p. 148). I do not know how the matter may stand in Singhalese, but it is certainly open to much objection as regards the Aryan languages of the Indian continent. The neuters differ from the actives in two ways in the seven languages, either by a change in the final consonant of the stem or by a change in the vowel only. The latter is by far the more frequent. We must not be misled by the accident that many of these neuters can only be translated into English by a passive; that is the peculiarity of our own language, not of the Indian ones. In German or in the Romance languages they can be rendered by the reflexive verb. Thus H. खुलना is "to open," *i.e.* "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोलना, the corresponding active, is "to open," *i.e.* "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार खुलता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While द्वार खोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that फिरना is "sich umkehren," while its active फेरना is "umkehren (etwas)." In English we use verbs in a neuter as well as in an active sense, relying upon the context to make our meaning clear.

Moreover, all the languages have a passive, in some a regularly formed derivative from Prakrit, in others a periphrastic arrangement. It is true that, owing to the large number of neuter stems, this regular passive is not very much used; but it is there nevertheless, and would not have been invented had

forms which I regard as neuters been true "umlautend" passives.

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as *a*, *i* or *u*, the corresponding active has *â*, *e* or *o*, occasionally *î* or *û*. As types may be taken, H. *kaṭnâ*, *n*, and *kâṭnâ*, *a*; *phirnâ*, *n*, and *phernâ*, *a*; *khulnâ*, *n*, and *kholnâ*, *a*; *lipnâ*, *n*, and *lipnâ*, *a*; *guthnâ*, *n*, and *gûthnâ*, *a*. Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.

§ 19. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 252) gives a list of these verbal stems, but it would have been out of place for him to have offered any analysis. The following verbs I take from him, but the explanations are my own. The first group consists of these verbs.

(1.) Neuter ending in झ.	Active ending in ध.
1. बझणु "to be bound,"	बंधणु "to bind."
2. बुझणु "to be heard,"	बुंधणु "to hear."
3. रझणु "to be cooked,"	रंधणु "to cook."

1. Skr. √ बंध्, iv. बध्नाति, Pa. बंधति, Pr. बंधद्, whence S. बंध, H. बांध, P. बन्ह. In all the rest बांध *a*. Skr. passive is बध्यते, whence Pa. बज्झति, Pr. बज्झद्, S. बझ, H. बझ, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. बज्झन. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem बझ is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. बंधिजणु.

2. Skr. √ बुध् "to know," i. बोधते, iv. बुध्यते, from the latter come Pa. बुज्झति and Pr. बुज्झद्, whence S. बुझ, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. बूझना "to understand," is active. So also

O. वुज्झ, B. बूझ, G. बुज. But M. वुझ is both *a* and *n*. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes वुझ a neuter and बुंध is probably due to a false analogy with बंध.

°3. Skr. √ रध् or रंध् i. रंधति originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. *id.*, Pr. रंधद्, S. रंध, H. रांध *a*, and so in all but P. Passive रध्यते, Pa. रज्झति, Pr. रज्झद्, S. रझ, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in भ.	Active in ह.
1. लभणु "to be got,"	लहणु "to seize."
2. यभणु "stuprari" (de muliere),	यहणु "stuprare" (de viro).
3. डुभणु "to be milked,"	डुहणु "to milk."

1. Skr. √ लभ् "to get," i. लभते, Pa. लभति, Pr. लहद् (भ=ह Vol. I. p. 268), S. लह, Old H. लह, H. ले, P. लहि and लै, G. ले, M. ने, O. ने, B. लओ, all *a*. Pass. लभ्यते, Pa. लब्भति, Pr. लब्भद्, S. लभ, Old H. लब्भ, not in the others.

2. Skr. √ यभ् "coïre," i. यभति, Pr. जहद्, S. यह, Pass. यभ्यते, Pr. जब्भद्, S. यभे. Not in the others, except perhaps M. झवणें, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the ज.

3. Skr. √ दुह्, ii. दोग्धि, Pa. दोहति, Pr. दोहद् and दुहद्, S. डुह, H. दुह and दोह, and so in all *a*. Pass. दुह्यते, Pa. दुह्यति (Childers writes *duyhati*, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagarl letters), Pr. दुज्झद्. From this we should expect S. डुझे. The form डुभे recalls a similar one in Jainn Pr. सिब्भद् for सिज्झद् (Weber, Bhâg. 389, 429), Skr. सिध्यते, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell's Var. viii. 59, note.[1] Possibly we have here again a false analogy with लभ, like बुंध with बंध.

[1] Hemachandra collects a number of passives in *bh* from roots ending in *h*, dubbhaï, libbhaï, vabbhaï, rubbhaï, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 245.

(3.) Neuter in झ.	Active in ह.
ड़झ्झणु "to be envious,"	ड़हणु "to torment."

Skr. √ दह् "burn," i. दहति, Pa. डहति, Pr. दहइ, S. डह, H. डाह, दाह, Pass. दह्यते, Pa. डह्यति (Childers *dayhati*), Pr. दज्झ, S. ड़झ.

(4.) Neuter in ञ़.	Active in ञ, ण, न.
1. भञ़णु "to be broken,"	भञ्जणु "to break."
2. भुञ़णु "to be fried,"	भुञ्जणु "to fry."
3. छिञ़णु "to be plucked,"	छिन्नणु "to pluck."
4. सुञ़णु "to be heard,"	सुणणु "to hear."
5. खञ़णु "to be raised,"	खणणु "to raise."

1. Skr. √ भंज् "break," vii. भनक्ति, Pa. भंजति, Pr. भंजइ; ञ्ज becomes in S. ञ, hence भञ, Pass. भज्यते, Pr. भज्जइ, S. भञ़ (ज्ञ = ञ़), H. भंज and भज,

पुरुषातन भजै कित्ति हान ॥

"Manliness is broken, fame destroyed."—Chand, Pr. R. i. 172.

P. भञ्ज, G. भांज.

2. Skr. √ भञ्ज or भृज्, i. भर्जते, vi. भृज्जति, Pa. भज्जति. Pr. would probably be भुजइ. I have not met the word भुंजइ (Bhâg. 278) is from भुंज् "to enjoy," S. भुञ postulates a Pr. भुंज. In the other languages the *n* occurs. H. भुन "to *fry*," and भून, P. भुन्न, G. भुज, M. भाज, but also भुंज, O. भाज, B. *id.*, Pass. भृज्यते, which would give Pr. भुज्जइ, whence S. भुञ़, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure. P. भुज्ज *n.*

3. Skr. √ छिद् "cleave," vii. छिनत्ति, Pa. छिन्दति, Pr. छिन्दइ (Var. viii. 38), whence S. छिन by the process रन = रण्डा (Vol. I. p. 299), Pass. छिद्यते, Pa. छिज्जति, Pr. छिज्जइ, S. छिञ़.

4. Skr. √ श्रु "hear," which, as already explained, is always सुण in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. श्रूयते, Pa. सूयति or सुय्यति, Pr. generally सुनिज्जइ (Var. viii. 57), also सुव्वइ, but a form सुज्जइ is also possible, whence S. सुञ़.

5. Skr. √ स्कंद् "rise," i. स्कंदति, which would give a Pr. खण्डइ, whence S. खण, Pass. स्कद्यते, Pr. खज्जइ, S. खज़. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with खणणु "to dig," from Skr. √ खन्, nor with Skr. खण्ड् "to divide."

(5.) Neuter in स.	Active in ह.
1. कुसणु "to be slain,"	कुहणु "to slay."
2. गसणु "to be rubbed."	गहणु "to rub."
3. लूसणु "to be scorched."	लूहणु "to scorch."
4. मुसणु "to suffer loss."	मुहणु "to inflict loss."

1. Skr. √ क्षप् and कुप् "tear" "drag," i. कुषति, Pr. कुसइ, S. कुह, (स = ह, Vol. I. p. 259), Pass. कुष्यते, Pr. would be कुस्सइ, whence S. कुस, by rejection of one *s*. Persian کُشتن "to kill."

2. Skr. √ घृष् "rub," i. घर्षति, Pr. घसइ, S. गह, Pass. घृष्यते, Pr. घिस्सइ and घस्सइ, S. गस. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घिस, *n* and *a*, घसीट, *a*, P. *id.*, G. घस and घसड, *a*, M. घास, घसट, घांस *n* and *a*, O. B. घस.

3. Skr. √ लूष् "burn," i. लूषति, Pr. लूसइ, S. लूह, Pass. लूष्यते, Pr. लूस्सइ, S. लूस.

4. Skr. √ मुष् "rob," i. मुषति, Pa. मुसति, Pr. मुसइ, S. मुह, Pass. मुष्यते, Pr. मुस्सइ, S. मुस.

There are several other pairs of stems which exhibit special types; all, however, are explainable by the above noted process. Thus—

(6.) Neuter in प.	Active in ह.
कुपणु "to be touched,"	कुहणु "to touch."

Skr. √ कुप् "touch," i. कुपति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. कुपइ. प being unsupported goes out and ह is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कुह. Pass. कुप्यते, Pr. कुप्पइ, whence S. कुप, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कुह, H. कू, P. कुह and कूह, G. कु, कू, को, O. कुं, B. *id.*

§ 20. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral ट, while that of the active is the sonant ड; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

Neuter.	Active.
1. छुट "get loose,"	छोड "set free."
2. टुट (तुट) "fall in pieces,"	टोड (तोड) "break."
3. फट "burst, split,"	फाड "tear."
4. फिट "be discharged,"	फेड "*discharge*."
5. फुट "be squashed,"	फोड "squash."
6. जुट "be joined,"	जोड "join."

The process in these words differs somewhat from that in the Sindhi stems in the last section, as will be seen from the following remarks.

1. Skr. √ छुट् (also चुट्, चुंट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to cut," vi. छुटति, but the Bhû type would be छोटति, Pr. छोडइ, H. छोड, and so in all except M., which has सोड, with its usual change of छ to स (Vol. *I.* p. 218). H., which is pronounced *chhor*, while M. is *sod*, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means "to release, let go, loose." Pass. छुट्यते, Pr. छुट्टइ, whence H. छुट, and so in all, but M. सुट. It is neuter and means "to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one's grasp, come untied."

The modern languages appear to have mixed up with this verb one that comes from a totally different root, namely—

Skr. √ कृद् "vomit," vii. कृणत्ति, also i. कर्दति and x. कर्दयति, Pa. कड्ढति, Pr. कड्डइ and कड्डइ, Old H. कड, P. कड्ढ, B. काड, O. *id.*, H. काड, M. सांड. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thus

come round to the same meaning as छोड, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, छांडना retains the meaning of vomiting, and M. सांड means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. √ चुट् "break" (*n*), i. चुटति, iv. चुट्यति, Pr. तुडइ, H. तूट and टूट, with abnormally long *u*, P. टुट्ट, S. टुट, B. *id.*, M. तुट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, *causal* चोटयति, H. तोड, and so in all but S. टोड. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

3. Skr. √ स्फट् has three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.

(*a*) √ स्फट् "split," i. स्फटति, Pa. फरति and फलति (ट = ड = ल), Pr. फलइ and फटइ, H. फट (rustic फाट), P. S. फट and फाट, the rest only फाट, neuter.

Causal स्फाटयति, Pr. फाडेइ, H. फाड and so in all. This group with stem-vowel A indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काठ धूप में फटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काठ को टांगी से फाडे "he cleaves the wood with an axe."

(*b*) √ स्फिट् "hurt," x. स्फिटयति, but also vi. स्फिटति, Pr. फिटइ, H. फिट, and so in all but P. फिट्ट, neuter.

Causal स्फेटयति, Pr. फेटइ and फेडइ, H. फेट, फेंट and फेड, and so in all but B. active. This group, with stem vowel I, implies, gently loosing or breaking up into small pieces. It is used for beating up into froth, winding thread, untying; also metaphorically getting out of debt, discharging an obligation, and in P. injuring.

(*c*) √ स्फुट "burst open," i. स्फोटति, vi. स्फुटति, Pa. फुटति,

Pr. फुट्टइ or फुडइ (Var. viii. 53), H. फुट and फूट, all the rest फुट, except P. फुट्ट, neuter.

Causal स्फोटयति, Pr. फोडेइ, H. फोड, and so on in all but B. फोट. Words with the stem vowel U imply the breaking or bursting of soft squashy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a boil and the like. Only in M. is there some idea of splitting or cracking, but there also the more general idea is that of squashing, as डोले फुटले "the eyeballs burst."

6. Skr. √ जुट or जुड, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from युज्. It must have had a definite existence in the spoken language as its descendants show. They appear to have treated it as a neuter pres. जुडति, जुटति. Pa. and Pr. do not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुट "to be joined," also जुड, and so in all.

Causal जोटयति, H. जोड, and so in all except P. जुट्ट and जूड, meaning "to join two things together."

These instances suffice to exhibit the nature of the parallel that exists between twin verbs of this class, which is a somewhat limited one.

§ 21. More usual is the difference which consists simply in the change of vowel of which I will now give some examples:

1. Skr. √ तॄ "cross over," i. तरति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. तरइ, in all तरन "to be crossed over," metaphorically "to be saved."

Causal तारयति "to take across, save," Pa. तारेति, Pr. तारेइ and तीरेइ (Var. viii. 70). In all तार "to save." The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उद् is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. √ उत्तॄ, Pres. उत्तरति "descend," H. उतर, and in all except S. It is *n*, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to

that of coming down; as alight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उत्तारयति "take down," H. उतार, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning "pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out."

3. Skr. √ मृ "die," vi. म्रियते, Pa. मरति, Pr. मरइ, H. मर, and so in all.

Causal मारयति, Pa. मारापेति, Pr. मारेइ, H. मार in all, but not necessarily meaning "to kill." It rather means "to beat"; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to मार the ancillary डाल "throw" (see § 72, 12).

4. Skr. √ सृ "move," i. सरति, Pr. सरइ. In H. सर neuter, means "to be completed," and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as से कर्म सरि गला "that affair is done with."

Causal सारयति, Pr. सारेइ, H. सार "to finish," and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. √ हृ "seize," i. हरति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. हरइ. This verb is peculiar. H. हर*a*, "to seize," so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. हर means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as त्यानें पहिल्या डावास शंभर रुपये मांडले ते म्यां हरले "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I *won*." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी वाद हरलों "I lost the lawsuit."[1]

Causal हारयति, Pa. हारापेति and हारेति, Pr. हारेइ, H. हार, and so in all but M. *n.* In these languages it means to lose at play, etc. M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that हार and हर are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

[1] See Molesworth's Marathi Dict. s. v. हर and हार.

winning, as म्यां त्याचे शंभर रुपये हारले "I won from him 100 rupees."

The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is "to cause to seize," and then "to permit (another) to seize," hence "to lose." So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 38, the Samvâhaka says: भाअधेअविअमदाए दअसुवण्णअं जूदे हालिदं (Skr. भागधेयविषमतया दशसुवर्णकं द्यूते हारितं sc. मया) "By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play." From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use हर in the sense of winning, and हार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. *hárun* is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

Some more examples may now be given of pairs of words derived from Sanskrit roots ending in a consonant.

1. Skr. √ स्फर् and स्फुर् "tremble," i. स्फरति, Pa. फरति, Pr. फुरइ. If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root स्फिर् (as in स्फट्, स्फिट्, स्फुट्), or the moderns have softened *a* to *i*, the former is the more probable. H. फिर *n* "to turn (oneself)," "to spin round," "revolve," and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of स्फिर्, that all the moderns have फेर *a* "to turn (a thing) round," "to make it revolve."

2. Skr. √ घूर्ण् "to move to and fro" (*n*). Allied to this is घुण, i. घोणते, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. घोलइ, H. घुल, P. M. घुळ, B. घुल, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, "to melt."

Causal घोणयति, Pr. घोलेइ, H. घोल, P. घोल and घोळ, G. M. O. घोळ, B. घोला "to dissolve substances in water."

3. Skr. √ पत् "fall," i. पतति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. पडइ (Var. viii. 51), H. पड "to fall," and so in all.

Causal पातयति, Pa. पातेति, Pr. पाडेइ, H. पाड "to fell," and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ शद् "decay," i. and vi. शीयते, Pr. सडइ (Var. viii. 51), H. सड, and in all "to rot."

Causal शादयति, Pr. साडेइ, P. and S. साड "to destroy by decomposition." This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ शट् "to be sick," whence ड in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ नम् "bow," i. नमते. It is both *a* and *n* in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. नमति, Pr. णमइ, H. नम and नेव, P. नेउ (neü), S. नंवं, B. नू, O. नुंइ, नोंइ (ŏ) "to bow oneself down," "to prostrate oneself."

Causal नामयति, Pa. नामेति, Pr. णामेइ, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नंवा, B. नाम, नुया, O. नुंआइ "to bow or bend," used as an active with the words "body" or "head" as objects, H. सीस नावना "to incline the head." द्वार आइ पद नायेउ माथा॥ "Coming to the door, *bowed his head* to (the Guru's) feet."—T. R. Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. निऊड, P. S. *id.*, but in S., meaning "to bury," "press down." M. uses the compound form from Skr. अवनमति, Pr. ओणइ (p.p.p. ओणओ = अवनत, Hâla, 9, Mṛ. p. 165), M. ओणव and ओणाव *n* "to stoop." Perhaps S. ओना "to listen," *a*, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

The following word is full of difficulties, and I am not able to elucidate it clearly.

Skr. √ कृष् "drag," i. कर्षति and vi. कृषति, Pa. कड्ढति, Pr. करिसइ, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mṛ. 253 occurs कड्ढामि = कर्षामि. The Skr. p.p.p is कृष्ट, which would give Pa. and Pr. कड्ढ. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p.[1] H. काढ *a*, "to drag

[1] Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of kṛsh—kaḍḍhaï, sâsaḍḍhaï, anchaï, apachchhaï, ayanchaï, and ûinchaï, as well as karisaï.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on *khainch* in § 22.

out," "extract," "to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. कड्ढ and खड्ढ, S. कढ, G. B. काड, M. O. काढ. H. has a corresponding neuter कढ "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. वेड्ढ्‌ = Skr. वेष्टति, which affords an analogy for a Pr. कड्ढ्‌ like the Pali. Very much used in the compound with निस्; thus—

Skr. निष्कृष्, i. निष्कर्षति, Pa. निक्कड्ढति "to turn out of doors, expel;" as to Pr. in Mṛ. 354 occurs णिक्कल्ल "begone!" and in the line above णिक्खालेहि "turn him out." For the change of ड्ढ to ल्ल, Var. viii. 41 उव्वेल्लइ = उद्वेष्टति affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निकल *n*, "go out," P. निक्कळ, S. निकिर, G. निकळ, O. निकिळ, and H. निकाल *a*, "turn out," P. निक्काळ, S. निकार, निकेर. In the above quoted passages of Mṛ., the scholiast renders निक्खालेहि by निष्काशय, erroneously for निष्कासय, from निस् and कस्, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for √ कस् with निस् has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as *nikal* and its group. Thus we find H. निकस *n*, "go out," P. निक्कस, G. *id.*, and H. निकास *a*, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, "to bring out," the substantive निकास is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पानी का निकास नहीं "there is no exit for the water," P. निक्कास.

§ 22. As exhibiting the phonetic modifications of the root syllable, as well as the treatment of roots in respect to their phase, whether active or neuter, the list which is here inserted will be useful. In the next section will be found some remarks on the deductions to be made from these examples.

Skr. √ तप् "heat," i. तपति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. तवइ. In Sanskrit it is both *a* and *n*, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तप्पति (Skr. तप्यते) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तवइ, as in

jaha dittho tavaï khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hâla, 229). Causal तापयति "to cause to burn," Pa. तापेति "to distress," Pr. तावइ. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप् *n*, "to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताव "to beat," P. ताउ, ता, G. ताव, M. *id.*, B. तावा.

Skr. √ लिप् "smear," vi. लिम्पति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. लिपइ, लिवइ, H. लीप, लेप, P. लिप्प, लिम्ब, लिम्म, S. लिंब, लिम, G. लिप, M. लेप, B. लेप, O. लिप. Pass. लिप्यते, Pa. लिप्पति, Pr. लिप्पइ, H. लिप "to be smeared with," M. लिप, G. लेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √ छत् "cut," vi. छन्तति, also i. कर्त्तते, Pa. not given. If the Bhû type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कट्टइ (on the analogy of वट्टइ = वर्त्तते). I have not met with it. The Bhû type being Âtmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. कट "to be cut," P. कट्ट, S. कट, M. *id.*, B. काट "to wither," become flaccid, O. कट. The causal is कर्त्तयति, whence G. pass. intrans. (—1) कटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. काटेइ, whence H. काट "to cut," S. M. B. O. *id.*

Skr. √ ग्रथ् ग्रन्थ् "tie," 1. ग्रंथति, ix. ग्रथ्नाति, Pa. गंथति, गंथेति, Pr. गंठइ. Hence H. G. गांठ *a*, "to knot," P. गंढ, गड्ढ, S. गंढ, M. गांठ, गांथ, both *a* and *n*, G. गांठ *a*, B. गांत, गांथ, O. गण्ठ. Passive ग्रन्थते used in a reflexive sense, whence H. गंठ "to be knotted," or गठ without anuswara, P. गठ, G. गठा (—1). H. has also forms गंथ *n*, and गांथ *a*, the former from Pr. गंथ, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. ग्रथित appears in Pr. as गुत्थो, perhaps as if from a Skr. गुथित. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गुथ "to be threaded (as beads on a string)," P. गुत्थ "to be tightly plaited (as hair), to be strong, well-knit (as limbs)," M. गुंत and गुंथ "to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair)," G. गुथा, and H. गूथ "to thread," G. गुंथ.

Skr. √ टल् "totter," i. टलति (perhaps connected with √ चल titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is *n* in Skr. and thus

H. टल *n*, "to give way, yield, totter," P. G. M. टळ, S. टिल, टर, B. टल "to slip, stagger," O. टळ *id.* Causal टालयति, H. टाल *a*, "to drive away," टेल "to push," P. टाळ, G. M. *id.*, S. टार, B. टाल "to delay, put off, evade," O. टाळ *id.*

Skr. √ तुल्, तूल "raise," "weigh," i. तोलति, *x.* तुलयति and तोलय°, Pa. तुलेति, Pr. तुलइ, H. तोल, तौल *a*, "to weigh," P. तोल, S. तोर, G. *id.*, M. तुळ, both *a* and *n*, B. तोला and तुल, O. तौल. Pass. तुल्यते, would be Pr. तुल्लइ, H. तुल *n*, "to be weighed, to weigh," *i.e.* to be of a certain weight, P. *id.*, S. तुर, B. O. तुल.

Skr. √ स्तम् "prop," v. स्तम्नोति, lx. स्तभ्नाति. Pa. the verb is not given in Childers, it would be थंभति, Pr. थंभइ, H. थांभ, also spelt थाम and थांव *a*, "to prop, support," P. थम्ह or थंम्ह, S. थंभ, G. थांभ, B. थामा, O. थाम. Pass. स्तभ्यते; there is also an Âtmane conjugation स्तभ्यते. From this latter probably H. थंभ, थम, थंव *n*, "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. थंभ, S. थम, G. थंभ, M. थम, थाम, थांव. It also means "to stand," especially in G.

The p.p.p. is स्तब्ध, Pr. थड्ढ, whence Old-H. ठाढा "standing," as गोपी जन वीथिक ढ्वै चितवति सब ठाढी ॥ "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bâl lîla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खडा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खड्ढ, from स्कब्ध, √ स्कंभ. P. has खडा *adj.* "standing," whence a verb खड "to stand."

Skr. √ वृत् with नि, निवृत्, i. निवर्त्तते "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. णिअत्तइ, means "to return," *na ṇiattaï jovaṇam aïkkantam* = न निवर्त्तते यौवनं अतिक्रान्तं "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hâla, 251), but we may postulate a form णिवट्टइ, whence H. निवड *n*, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. *id.*, S. निविड or निविर, B. निवड, O. *id.* On the analogy of similar words H. निवाड, निवेड *a*, "to finish," P. *id.*, S. निवेर, B. O. निवाड, it might also come from निपतति = Pr. णिवडइ, but the meaning is less appropriate.

Skr. √ घट् with वि, विघट, i. विघटते "be destroyed," Pa. विघटति, Pr. विघडइ्. With loss of aspiration, H. बिगड *n*, "to become useless, to be spoilt," P. *id.*, S. बिगिड, G. बगड, M. retains the aspirate बिघड, B. O. बिगड. Causal विघटयति, but Pa. विघाटेति, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be विघाडइ्, H. बिगाड *a*, "to spoil," P. S. G. *id.*, M. बिघाड.

There are, as might be expected, many verbs, and those often the very commonest, in the modern languages, which cannot be traced back to any Prakrit stem with any degree of certainty. Others, too, though they preserve traces of a Prakrit origin, cannot be connected with any root in use in Sanskrit. These are probably relics of that ancient Aryan folk-speech which has lived on side by side with the sacred language of the Brahmins, without being preserved in it. Sometimes one comes across such a root in the Dhâtupâṭha, but not in literature; and occasionally the cognate Aryan languages of Europe have preserved the word, though it is strangely missing in Sanskrit. An instance in point is the following:

H. लाद् *a*, "to load," P. लद्, more from analogy than anything else, S. लड. In all the rest लाद्.

H. लद् *n*, "to be loaded;" not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from √ श्रम्, p.p.p. श्रान्त "tired," or √ क्लम, p.p.p. क्लान्त "tired." This would seem to be confirmed by Russian *klad'* "a load," *klazha* "lading," *na-kladevat'* "to load;" Old-High-German *hlatu*, Anglo-Saxon *hladan* "to load," *hlad* "a load," Mod. High-German *laden*. The wide phonetic changes observable between various members of the great Indo-European family so seldom occur between Sanskrit and its daughters, that I am disposed to think that neither Skr. श्रान्त nor क्लान्त could well have given rise to a Hindi *lâd*. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for some reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.

Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following:

H. खोद् and खोड *a*, "to dig," P. *id.*, S. खोट, खोड, G. खोद्, M. खोड, खुड, B. खुद्. And H. खुद्, खुड "to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. खोल *a*, "to open," P. खोल्ह, खुल्ल, S. G. M. खोल, B. O. खुल, and H. खुल *n*, "to come open," P. खुल्ह, S. खुल, G. M. *id.* Pr. has a verb खुड, and this root is also given in the Dhâtupâṭha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably √ खण्ड् "to divide," with which another root खन् "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खण्ड, "a portion," is formed from √ खन्, and is the origin of √ खण्ड्. The Prakrit occurs in Mṛ. 346, कूवम्मि खुडिदपाशं कञ्चणकलशं व्व डुब्बन्तं "Like a golden pot with its string *broken*, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders कूपे खण्डितपाशं, etc. Also in Mṛ. 219, अद्धुद्दइदिनअरे गोवालअदारओ खुडिदो, "While the sun was only half risen the cowherd's son *escaped*," *i.e. broke* out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.

H. बूड or बुड *n*, "to dive, be immersed, sink," S. बुड, G. बुड, M. B. O. *id.*, and H. बोड *a*, "to drown, to immerse," S. *id.*, बोड occurs in M. and S., not as active of बुड, but for मोड (मुंड्) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. डुब *n*, "to sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. वुड्ड (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as *vuḍḍa* in *daravuḍḍavuḍḍanivuḍḍa mahuaro*, "(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped" (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hâla, 37.[1] The Sanskrit lexicographers give a √ वुड "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form *ḍubb* is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

[1] Buḍḍaï = masjati.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.

from Mṛ. 346, given under खोड above, where the speaker is a Chandâla or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of Apabhrança. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit has rejected. The classical language uses instead *majj*, Latin *mergere*.

H. भेट, भेंट *a*, "to meet" (to join any one), भेड *a*, "to close, shut," P. भेड, S. भेट and भीड, G. भेट, M. भिड, both *a* and *n*, B. भेट, भेड, O. भेट; and H. भिड "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. *id.*, S. G. *id.*, M. भेट, B. भिड "to approach near to," O. भिड "to be tight." The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive भीड "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. अभ्यर्ण "near," which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.

H. मेट "to efface," P. S. *id.*, and more common H. मिट *n*, "to be effaced, to fail, wear out" (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मृष्ट "rubbed," p.p.p. of √ मृज्, though one would expect a Pr. मिट्ठ or मुट्ठ, and H. मीठ. There are two other stems ending in ट, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz.:

H. पिट "to be beaten," ऐसा करोगे, तो पिटोगे "If you act thus, you will get a beating," P. पिट्ट, M. पिट, both *a* and *n*, B. and O. पिट *a*, and H. पीट *a*, "to beat," not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिट्ट "to beat," पिट्टिअ एदं चेडं णिक्खालेहि "*Having beaten* this slave, turn him out" (Mṛ. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandâla), and पिट्टिदगद्दहेण विअ पुणोवि लोट्टिदव्वं "I must roll about again like a *beaten* jackass" (Mṛ. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिष्ट "ground, broken," p.p.p. of √ पिष् "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस "to grind," and पिस *n*, "to be ground."

H. लेट *n*, "to lie," "to be in a recumbent posture," and लिड *n*, "to

wallow," P. लेट, लिट, S. लेट, G. M. *id.* Probably connected with लोट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is √ ली "to lie down;" loṭṭai = svapiti.—Pischel, Hem. lv. 146.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in च्, concerning which also there has been some controversy.

Skr. √ क्री "buy," lx. क्रीणाति and क्रीणीते, Pa. किणाति, Pr. किणइ, H. कीन, S. गिन्ह (is not the ह here due to some confusion with Pr. गेण्ह = ग्रह "take"?), B. O. किन. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with वि, विक्री "sell," ix. विक्रीणाति, Pa. विक्किणाति, Pr. विक्किणइ, S. विकिण *a*, "to sell," O. विक, Gipsy *biknáva*. But in H. विक is *n*, "to be sold, to be exposed for sale," as चावल आज सस्ता बिकता "rice is selling cheap to-day." In M. विक is both *a* and *n*, as विकेल तसें पिकेल "when it is ripe it will sell." So also P. S. विक *n*, "to be sold." For the active H. has बेच sometimes pronounced बेंच "to sell," as आज चावल बेचता "he is selling rice to-day." P. बेच, G. वेच, B. वेच. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhû type, it is intelligible that विक should mean both "to sell" *a*, and "to be sold" *n*, for the Parasmai of the Bhû form would be विक्रयति, and the Âtmane विक्रयते, and the final syllable being rejected as in √ नी and √ डी mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be विक. S. and Gipsy have retained the ण of the Pr. विक्किणइ. But whence comes the च in बेच?

H. खेंच, commonly pronounced खेंच "to pull, drag," is a similar word. P. खिच्च and खिंज, G. M. खेंच, B. खेच and खेंच, O. *id.* Also H. खिच *n*, "to be dragged," B. खिच, खिंच "to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe," M. खिच. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit √ कृष "to drag," and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs *karh* and *kârh*, and in composition to *ni-kal* and *ni-kâl*, yet it is not impossible that, used

in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like *khench* and its congeners.[1]

H. पहुंच "to arrive" *n*, written in various ways as पहंच, पहुच, पहुछ, P. पहुंच, S. पहुच, G. पोहंच, पोंच, M. *id.*, B. पहुंच or पहुंच, O. पहुच. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पूग and पुग, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पहं, as दिन दोय मंझ नीके पहंत ॥ "In two days one easily arrives (there)." Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पहोत, *e.g.* नळ कहे नारदने ए वखाण भाव न पहोतो "Says Nala to Nârada, this story does not arrive at mind" (*i.e.* is not probable).—*Premânand Bhat*, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पहुचण has p.p.p. पहुतो, which latter looks as if it were from प्र + सृप्, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पहुं "near," and कर "make," assuming a change of क into च; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in mediæval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पुकार "to call," as the causal of पुग, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पुक. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्राघूर्ण "a guest," which becomes in H. पाहुना, but this fails to explain the final च.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in ज, for as ज arises from द् + य, so च arises from त + य (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:

H. भेज *a*, "send," P. *id.* Here we have Skr. √ भिद् "cleave," "separate." Causal भेदयति, which would make a passive भेद्यते "he is made to separate," *i.e.* "he is sent away." If we take the active causal as the origin of this word, we must admit an elision of the vowel between *d*

[1] See note to Krsh in § 20. The cognate verb *ainchná* is also in use in the moderns.

and *y*; or, taking the simple passive भिद्यते, we may assume that there was a neuter भिज "to be sent," from which the active भेज "to send," has been formed; *bhij*, however, is not found.

H. बज *n*, "to sound," P. *id.*, S. वग़ and वज़, G. वज, M. वाज, B. *id.* Also H. बाज *a*, "to play (music)," and *n*, "to sound." Probably from Skr. √ वद् "speak," causal वादयति, Pa. वदति and वदेति, the passive of the causal is Skr. वाद्यते, Pa. वज्जति "to be beaten," *i.e.* "to be caused to speak," as *vajjanti bheriyo* "drums are beaten." Hence the modern *bāj*. The short form *baj* is apparently due to analogy.

§ 23. It is the business of the lexicographer, rather than of the grammarian, to work out the derivations of all the verbs in these languages, and even he would probably find the task one of insuperable difficulty in the present elementary state of our knowledge. It is hoped that the examples and illustrations given above will have enabled the reader to gain some insight into the general principles which have governed the modern languages in the process of forming their verbal stems. To conclude this part of the subject, I will now point out what seem to me to be the laws deducible from the examples above given, and from many others which, to avoid prolixity, I have not cited.

Single neuter stems are derived (i) from the Prakrit present tense of Sanskrit neuter verbs, or (ii) from the Prakrit passive past participle, or (iii) Prakrit has assumed one form for all parts of the verb, which form has been handed down to the modern languages almost, if not entirely, unchanged. Types of these three processes respectively are *ho*, *baiṭh*, and *uṭh*.

Single active stems are formed from the Prakrit present of active verbs, and in cases where the verb in Sanskrit is not conjugated on the Bhû type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhû type. Here, also, Prakrit has occasionally taken one form of root and used it throughout, and

the moderns have followed the Prakrit. Types of these classes are *paṛh*, *kar*, and *ghen*.

In the double verbs two leading processes are observable. Where the root is conjugated actively, or is active in meaning in the ancient languages, the modern active is derived from it, and in that case the modern neuter is derived from the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit passive, as in *labhaṇu*, *lahaṇu*, or as *chhoṛ*, *chhuṭ*. Where the ancient root is neuter, the modern neuter is derived from it, and in this case the active is derived from the ancient causal, as in *tuṭ*, *toṛ*, or *mar*, *mâr*.

These rules, if further research should eventually confirm them, do not provide for every modern verbal stem, as there are many whose origin is obscure and doubtful. It is highly probable that as we come to know more about these languages, we shall find out other processes which will throw light upon the method of formation of many now obscure stems.

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, *form* in all the languages, it is not used in the same *phase* in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. गांठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present *gâṇṭhato*, Past *gâṇṭhalâ* Future *gâṇṭhel*, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present *gâṇṭhito*, Past *gâṇṭhilen*, Future *gâṇṭhîl*. In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediæval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus बढना "to grow big," "increase," makes its active बढाना "to make big," and rustic and

poetical Hindi often uses **बाढना** for the neuter, as **ऐसो देव प्रकट गोवर्द्धन । जाके पूजे बाढै गोधन ॥** "Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle *increases*."—S.S. *Govardhanlilá*, ii. 15, *et passim*. So also **बाढत जैछन् मृनालक सूत ॥** "It *grows* like the threads of the lotus."—Padm. This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.

§ 24. Gujarati, as will have been noticed in the examples given in the last section, often wants the neuter stem with the short vowel, but has in its place a form in which *á* is added to the stem, the included vowel of which is short. This form is not incorrectly treated by some grammarians as the ordinary passive of the language. It should, however, in strictness, be recognized as the passive intransitive (that form marked —1 in the scale, § 10).[1] The rules for its formation are simple, in stems, whether neuter or active, having *á* as the included vowel, it is shortened to *a*, as—

वांच "read,"	**वंचा** "be read."
आंक "mark, test."	**अंका** "be tested."
सांभळ "hear,"	**संभळा** "be heard."

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is *í* or *ú*, though from the way in which short and long vowels are used indiscriminately in Gujarati, it is not safe to lay down a hard and fast rule on this point, thus—

शीख "learn,"	**शीखा (शिखा)** "be learnt."
शीव "sew,"	**शीवा (शिवा)** "be sewn."

Where the stem ends in a vowel, **व** is inserted to prevent hiatus, as—

न्हा "wash,"	**न्हवा** "be washed."
खा "eat,"	**खवा** "be eaten."
विही "fear,"	**विहीवा** "be feared."

[1] Vans Taylor, Gujarati Grammar, p. 81, from which most of the following remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views seem to be open to correction.

With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, **रामथी रावण मरायो** "Râvana was killed by Râma," **आ खेतर मां बी ववायुं** "In this field seed has been sown;" as expressing habit, **एवुं कहेवाय छे खरुं** "thus it is correctly said," *i.e.* "this is the correct way of expressing it;" **आ छोकरो मूर्ख जणायछे** "this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;" as expressing power or fitness, **तेनाथी चलाय नहीं** "he cannot walk," literally "by him it is not walked;" **राजा थी अन्याय कराय नहि** "a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;" **कूवो अभडायो माटे एनुं पाणी पीवाय नहि** "the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk." Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neuters in meaning, like *abhaḍâyo* in the sentence just quoted, which means "to be ceremonially impure," and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from **अ** "not," and **भद्र** "good," there had been formed a verb **अभद्रायते** "it is not good." So also **वपरावुं** "to be used," "to be in use," as **एक अर्थ ना बे प्रत्यय वपराय छे** "two affixes are in use with one meaning," postulates from **व्यापार**, a denominative **व्यापारायते**, or perhaps the causal of **वि + आ + पृ = व्यापारयति**. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as **भीमक सुता नुं वदन सुधाकर देखीने शोभाय। चन्द्रमा तो चीण पामी आभमां संताय ॥** "Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhîmaka in its beauty—The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds."—Premânand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here **शोभा** is "to be beautiful," and looks like a denominative, but **संताय** has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, "to be hidden," "to hide oneself." Again, **दमयंती नुं उदर देखी**

सुखायुं सरोवर "Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up," (*ib.* ii. 75), literally "was dried up." So also घर लाग्युं त्यारे कूवो खोदावे ए अग्नि केम ओलवाय। "When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?" —K.-D. i. 184.[1] The verb ओलवा is also written होल°, and is probably the same as O. ओल्हा "to descend, alight," M. ओहळ "to trickle, flow down," which I take to be from अप + सृ = अपसरति, Pr. ओसलइ (Mâgadhi), and with change of स to ह = ओहल. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: अले ले ओसलध "ho there! get out of the way!" (Mr. 210), and causal ओसालिदा मए गअडा "I have got the cart out of the way," (*ib.* 211) = Skr. अपसारिता. This *phase* is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus खोवावुं "to be lost." Present खोवाए "he is lost," Future खोवाशे "he will be lost," Preterite खोवाओ, खोवाणो, or खोवाएलो छे "he has been lost," and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनाथी छोडाय "he can loose," तेनाथी छोडायो "he could loose," तेनाथी छोडाशे "he will be able to loose."

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पकड "seize," पकडा "be seized," as हम् पकडाइत बा "I am being seized." In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyâpati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, सिंकता जल जैछे थलहि गुकायल "As water poured out on the ground *is dried up.*"—Pad. 984. धरणी लोटायल गोकुलचांद। "(He who is) the moon of Gokul *rolled himself* on the earth."—P.K.S. 77. जनु इंदीवर पवने पेलिल अलि भरे उलटाय। "As a lotus pressed down by the wind *is tilted* by the weight of bees" (var. lect. भुरि = by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

[1] This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, "When the steed is stolen, shut the stable door."

There seems to be some difficulty in deducing this form from a Prakrit passive. One of the methods in which the passive in Prakrit is formed is by resolving the *y* of Sanskrit into *ia* or *ia*, Skr. खायते = Pr. खाईअदि; and it is supposed that this ई has become अय, and subsequently आ, but no instances of intermediate forms are found; it would seem, therefore, more correct to suppose that this form originates from the causal of Sanskrit in those instances where the causal characteristics are used to form denominatives, and has from them been extended to other verbs. Neither explanation, however, is quite satisfactory, and the question is one which must be left for further research.

§ 25. The regular Passive (phase —2) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in *ijja* (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. *çrûyate* = *suṇijjaï*, *gamyate* = *gamijjaï*, *hasyate* = *hasijjaï*. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding ड्ज or ज to the neuter or active stem.[1] Thus—

पूरणु "to bury," Passive पूर्जणु "to be buried."
घटणु "to lessen," ,, घटिजणु "to be lessened."

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

विञाइणु "to lose," Passive विञाइजणु "to be lost."

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उखण्डिजणु "to long for," where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the *ijja* of the passive. Thus Skr. उत्कण्ठ "longing," makes a verb उत्कण्ठयति "to long for," whence the Sindhi *ukhandijaṇu*. So also अंगुडिजणु "to be entangled," which seems to be from Skr. अङ्गुल, or अङ्गुरि "a finger," whence we may suppose a verb

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.

अङुरयति "to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);" डमिर्जणु "to be angry," from डमरु "anger," Skr. डमर "uproar," of which the denominative would be डमरयति.

In cases where the vowel of the active stem is long in the imperative, but shortened in the infinitive, the passive retains the long vowel. Thus

पीउ "drink thou,"	पिअणु "to drink,"	पीजणु "to be drunk."
पूउ "thread thou,"	पुअणु "to thread,"	पूइजणु "to be threaded."
धोउ "wash thou,"	धुअणु "to wash,"	धोइजणु "to be washed."

A similarly formed passive is used in the Marwâṛi dialect of Hindi, spoken west of the Aravalli hills towards Jodhpur, and thus not very far from Sindh. Instances are—

करणो "to do,"	करीजणो "to be done."
खावणो "to eat,"	खवीजणो "to be eaten."
लेणो "to take,"	लिरीजणो "to be taken."
देणो "to give,"	दिरीजणो "to be given."
आवणो "to come,"	अवीजणो "to be come."

Thus they say म्हैं सुं अवीजै नहीं = H. मुझ से आया नहीं जाता "by me it is not come," *i.e.* "I am not coming." थां सुं खवीजैलो नहीं = H. तुम से नहीं खाया जायगा "by you it will not be eaten," *i.e.* "you will not (be able to) eat it." This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing.[1] The insertion of र instead of व in ले and दे is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjabi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding ई to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in *ia*, as

[1] I have to thank Mr. Kellogg, of Allahabad, author of the best, if not of the only really good Hindi Grammar, for communicating this form to me in a letter. I was previously unaware of it.

mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus मारना "to beat," Passive present मैं मारीदा "I am beaten," Future मैं मारीआंगा "I shall be beaten," Potential (old present) मैं मारीआं "I may be beaten."

With these exceptions, there is no synthetic form for the passive in the modern languages. This phase is usually formed by an analytical process. It is not much used, the construction of sentences being more frequently reversed, so as to make the verb active. The large number of neuter verbs also renders a passive for the most part unnecessary. It does exist, however, and is formed by adding the verb जा "to go," to the past participle of the passive, जा doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार "beat," H. Sing. मारा जाना "to be beaten" *m.*, मारी जाना *f.*, Plur. मारे जाना *m.*, मारीं जाना *f.*, P. मारिआ जाना *m.*, मारी *f.*, Plur. मारे *m.*, मारीआं *f.* Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मार्यो जवुं "to be beaten," with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिला जाणें, B. मारा जाइते, O. मारा जिवा. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

Occasionally in G. and M. a passive is formed by adding the substantive verb to the past participle, thus M. गाई बांधली होती "the cow was tied," and G. ग्रंथ कर्यो छे "the book is made;" such a construction would in the other languages be incorrect, or, if used at all, would have a different meaning altogether.

The use of जाना "to go," to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होना "to be," would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of जाना in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in *ijja*. This, as we have seen above, has given a regular

passive to Sindhi and Marwari, and it seems possible that the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added *j*, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the ज of the common word जा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form मारिजे "he is beaten," would easily pass into मारा जाए, as in modern Hindi. The process must, of course, have been unconscious, as all such processes are, but the supposition does not involve a more violent twisting of words and meanings than many others which are better supported by actual facts.

The non-Aryan party have something to say on this head.[1] They point out that the Dravidian languages, like our seven, largely avoid the use of the passive by having recourse to neuter verbs, and that with them, as with us, the neuter is often only another form of the same root as the active. Indeed, the similarity in this respect is very striking, the process is, to a great extent, the same in both groups, though the means employed are different. The passive does not, strictly speaking, occur in the Dravidian languages; a clumsy effort is sometimes made to produce one, by adding the verb *paḍu* "to happen" (Sanskrit पत्, modern Aryan पड) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with *já* is in the Aryan group. It appears, also, that the verb *poyu* "to go," is also used in Tamil to form a passive, as also a verb meaning "to eat," which latter is parallel to our North-Indian expression मार खाना "to eat a beating" = "to be beaten." In this, as in so many other instances of alleged non-Aryan influence, the known facts do not justify us in saying more than that there is a resemblance between the two groups of languages, but that it is not clear which borrowed the process, or whether it was over

[1] Caldwell, pp. 353, 364 (first edition).

borrowed at all. There is no reason why it should not have grown up simultaneously and naturally in both families.

§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable *aya* to the root, which often also takes guṇa or vṛiddhi, √कृ "do," causal कारयति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting ए् between the root and the characteristic *aya*. These are principally roots ending in a vowel; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in ए् has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus √पच् "cook," causal *pâcheti, pâchayati, pâchâpeti, pâchâpayati.*[1] In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the *aya* of Sanskrit becomes *e*, thus कारयति = Pr. कारेइ्, हासयति = हासेइ् (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted ए् is softened to व्, thus giving करावेइ् or कारावेइ् (*ib.* 27). It is from this form, and not from *aya*, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the *e* in *kârâveï* is frequently omitted, as it is also in *kâreï*, and we find such forms as *kâraï, târaï*, side by side with *kârâvaï* (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only *âv* for the modern causal.

Among the modern languages Marathi stands alone in respect of its causal, and, as in so many other points, exhibits a hesitation and confusion which confirm the impression of its being a backward language which has not so thoroughly emancipated itself from the Prakrit stage as the others. Whereas these latter have passed through the period in which rival forms conflicted for the mastery, and have definitely settled upon one type to be used universally, the former pre-

[1] Kaccâyana, Senart, Journal Asiatique, vol. xvii. p. 436.

sents us with several alternative suffixes, none of which appears to have obtained undisputed prominence. The authorities for Marathi consist of the classical writers, the one dictionary-maker, Molesworth, and a host of grammarians, all of whom differ among themselves, so that one is driven to ask, "who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

The competing forms are: *ava, iva, ive, avi, âva, âvi*, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with प्, modified in Prakrit to व्. The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in *ava* to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding *iva*, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that *ava* is the ordinary form, as *basaṇeṉ* "to sit," *basavaṇeṉ* "to seat." This type, however, he adds, is peculiar to the Konkan or lowlands along the coast; in the Dakhin or centre table land above the passes the form *iva* is more used, as *karaṇeṉ* "to do," *karivaṇeṉ* "to cause to do." A third form *avi* is said to be "of a middle class," and not characteristic of either dialect, as *karaviṇeṉ*. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the *v*, and the vowels that follow this letter may fairly be regarded as mere junction vowels, used to add the terminations to the stem. In those of the cognate languages which use *â* as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either *i*, as B. *karâ-i-te*, O. *karâ-i-bâ*, S. *karâ-i-ṇu*, or *u*, as Old-H. *karâ-u-nâ*, P. *karâ-u-ṇâ*, or hardened to *va*, as G. *karâ-va-vuṇ*. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, *av, âv, iv, ív*. Of these four *âv* approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes *av*, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces *iv*; and the fourth form, *ív*, probably owes its long vowel to the Marathi habit of lengthening vowels at the end of a word, or

in a syllable, where the stress or accent falls. Thus all four forms may be used, as

करणें "to do," करवणें, करावणें, करिवणें, करीवणें; also करविणें, and करीविणें "to cause to do."[1]

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb.

Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as

बस "sit,"	बसव "seat."
मिळ "meet,"	मिळव (junction vowel इ) "mix."
निज "sleep,"	निजव "put to sleep," "soothe."

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार "strike,"	मारव "cause to strike."
शिक "teach,"	शिकव "cause to teach."

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

फिर "turn" (*i.e.* be turned),	फिरव "cause to be turned."
कट "be cut,"	कटव, कटाव "cause to be cut."

Simple roots ending in vowels insert a *v* between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा "eat,"	खाववं (junction vowel इ) "cause to eat."

So also with roots ending in ह, as

लिह "write,"	लिहवव "cause to write."

The various forms of the causal suffix in Marathi may be regarded as types of a stage of transition which the other lan-

[1] Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 102, § 279.

guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter:

लिख "write," H.P.B.O.S. लिखा "cause to write," (H.Pres. *likhâtâ*, Pret. *likhâyâ*, Aor. *likhâe*, or *likhây*, or *likhâve*.)

पढ "read,"	*id.*	पढा "cause to read."
सुन "hear,"	*id.*	सुना "cause to hear."

In Hindi, as in the other languages, the causal of a neuter verb is, in effect, nothing more than an active, as

बन्ना "be made,"	बनाना "make."
बोलना "speak,"	बुलाना "call" (*i.e.* "cause to speak.")
चलना "move,"	चलाना "drive."
जागना "be awake,"	जगाना "awaken."
उठना "rise,"	उठाना "raise."
पकना "be cooked,"	पकाना "cook."

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 20, 21, the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which *â* or some other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages; where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is doubled by absorption of the य् of Skr. as *gamyate* = *gammaï*,

a second in *ia*, as *gamyate* = *gamiadi*, and a third in *ijja*, as *gamyate* = *gamijjadi*. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as *mârîdâ* = *mârîadi*, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in § 25. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in *aya* with long or guṇa vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as *hârayati* = *hâṛeï* = *hâr*; *troṭayati* = *toṛeï* = *toṛ*; while that which takes the प् causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as *kârayati (karâpayati)* = *karâvei* = *karâ*.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from फटना are made both फाटना and फटाना, from हरना are made हारना and हराना, and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix *â*, *âv*, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, except in a few instances where the stem vowel is vṛiddhi, in which case it is sometimes retained. Thus in the double verbs the causal suffix may be regarded as added to the neuter form, as in

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.	CAUSAL.
तप	ताव	तपा
घुल	घोल	घुला

In such cases, however, we more commonly find the double or passive causal.

Single verbs with a long or guṇa stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples बोलना and बुलाना, जागना and जगाना given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if *â*, *î*, or *e*, into *i*, if *û* or *o*, into *u*. The semivowel

used is sometimes व or र, but more commonly ल. Thus, लेना "to take," लिवाना "to cause to take," but—

H. देना	"give,"	दिलाना "cause to give."
जीना	"live,"	जिलाना "cause to live."
पीना	"drink,"	पिलाना "give to drink."
खाना	"eat,"	खिलाना "feed."
धोना	"wash,"	धुलाना "cause to wash."
सोना	"sleep,"	सुलाना "put to sleep."
रोना	"weep,"	रुलाना "make to weep."

In a few cases of stems ending in ह, or in aspirates, the ल is optionally inserted, as

H. कहना "say,"	कहाना	and	कहलाना "cause to say," "be called."
देखना "see,"	दिखाना	,,	दिखलाना "show."
सीखना "learn,"	सिखाना	,,	सिखलाना "teach."
बैठना "sit,"	बिठाना (or बै°)	,,	बिठलाना (बै°) "seat."

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with र instead of ल, as is customary with that language, as[1]

डिअणु "give,"	डिआरणु "cause to give."
चुअणु "leak,"	चुआरणु "cause to leak."
विहणु "sit,"	विहारणु "seat."
सिखणु "learn,"	सिखारणु "teach."
उथणु "rise,"	उथारणु "raise."
सुम्हणु "sleep,"	सुम्हारणु "put to sleep."

Here the र is inserted after the causal suffix, and this was probably the method originally in force in Hindi, for we find in the mediæval poets such words as *dikhârnâ* "to show," and even in modern colloquial usage *baiṭhâlnâ* is quite as common

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.

as *bithlânâ*. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses ડ instead of ર, as

ધાવવું "suck,"	ધવાડવુ "give suck."
શીવવું "sew,"	શીવાડવું "cause to sew."
વાગવું "sound,"	વગાડવું "strike" (a bell, etc.)

After words ending in a vowel, the suffix takes વ to prevent hiatus, and so also after હ, as

થા (થવું) "be,"	થવાડવું "cause to be."
ખાવું "eat,"	ખવાડવું "feed."
દેવું "give,"	દેવાડવું "cause to give."
સેહવું "endure,"	સેહવાડવું "cause to endure."
કોહવું "rot,"	કોહવાડવું "cause to rot."

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as *dhavarâv*, *khavarâv*, with change of ડ to ર.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel *u*, as *khilâ-u-nâ*, *dikhâ-u-nâ*. In both these languages the old form *âu* has, in a few instances, changed to *o* instead of *â*, as

ਭਿਗੋਨਾ "to wet," from ਭੀਗਨਾ "to be wet."

ਡੁਬੋਨਾ "to drown," „ ਡੁਬਨਾ "to be drowned."

Bengali and Oṛiya have only the causal form in *â* with junction vowel *i*, as B. *karâ-i-te*, O. *karâ-i-bâ*, and use this form in preference to that with the long stem vowel, even in those causals which are, in meaning, simple actives.

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or guṇa vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in *âve*, and exhibiting the forms *âva*, *ava*, *iva*, *îva*, *âv*, *âu*, *o*, *â*; the other starting, I know

not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms *âr*, *âḍ*, *âl*, *râ*, *lâ*. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels *l* and *v*, is a problem which must remain for futuro research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is oven, in my opinion, highly probable.

§ 27. The Passivo Causal may be also called the double causal. The use of either term depends upon the point of view of the speaker, for whether I say, "I cause Râm to be struck by Shyâm," or, "I cause Shyâm to strike Râm," the idea is the same. As regards form, the term doublo causal is more appropriate in somo languages. In H. and P. this phrase is constructed by adding to the stem H. वा, P. वाउ, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable *âv* of the single causal shortened, and another *âv* added to it, thus from *sun* "hear," comes causal *sunâ*, "cause to hear," "tell," double causal *sunvâ*,[1] "cause to cause to hear," "cause to tell;" here, as *sunâ* is from the fuller form *sunâv*, so *sunvâ* is from sunâv+âv=sunav+â=*sunvâ*. This double or passivo causal is in use mostly with neuter and activo intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनना "be made," बनाना "make," बनवाना "cause to be made." Thus they say, गढ बनता "The fort is being built;" थवई गढ बनाता "Tho architect is building the fort;" and राजा थवई के द्वारा गढ बनवाता "The king is causing the fort to be built by tho architect." In this last sentence, and in all similar phrases, tho nature of tho construction is such that we can only translate it by the passive causal, we could not render "The king causes the architect to build," etc., by बनवाना in any other way than by putting "architect"

[1] Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English *w*, so that *sunwânâ* would more nearly represent the sound than *sunvânâ*. The *v*, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our *v*.

in the ablative with द्वारा or से. When we are told, therefore, that this phase means "to cause to do" (the action of a neuter verb), the assertion, though correctly expressing the form, is incorrect as to the meaning; the dictionary-makers here halt between two opinions. Thus

उठ "rise,"	उठा "raise" (*i.e.* "cause to rise"),	उठवा "cause to be raised" (*i.e.* "cause A to cause B to rise").
कट "be cut,"	काट "cut,"	कटवा "cause to cut."
खुल "be open,"	खोल "open,"	खुलवा "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in *á* may be used, as कटा "cause to cut." As a general rule, the exact meaning of stems in this phase must be gathered from the sentence in which they are used.

Sindhi makes its double causal by inserting *rá* (Trumpp, 257), as

विर्च "be weary,"	विर्चा "make weary, tire,"	विर्चारा "cause to make weary."
घा "wound,"	घारा "cause to wound,"	घारारा "cause to cause to wound, or cause (another) to be wounded."

Stack instances also passive causals formed on the same model as ordinary passives, thus

सड "be on fire," साड "burn," साडा "cause to burn," साडारिज "be caused to be burnt."

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धापणु "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast), neuter; धाइणु "to suck the breast," active; धाइजणु "to be sucked," pass.; धापिजणु "to give suck," neut. pass.; धाराइणु "to suckle," caus.; धाराइजणु "to be suckled," pass. caus.;

धारारादणु "to cause (another) to suckle," double caus.; धारारादजणु "to cause to be suckled by another," double pass. caus. The whole of these forms, however, are rarely found in one verbal stem. The double causal is common enough, thus from the causals mentioned in the last section are derived double causals—

सुम्हारणु "to put to sleep," सुम्हाराद्णु "to cause to put to sleep."
उथारणु "to raise," उथाराद्णु "to cause to raise" (H. उठवाना).

§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 26 generally and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive, or passive intransitive. As mentioned in § 11, these stems are probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and owe their long vowel to the *aya* or *âya* of that form. Hence they come to resemble in form modern causals.

In Sindhi these stems have a development peculiar to that language, and have a corresponding active phase like the double stems mentioned in § 19. Trumpp gives (p. 252, *et seqq.*) the following examples:

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.
उझामणु "to be extinguished,"	उझाद्णु "to extinguish."
उड़ामणु "to fly,"	उड़ाद्णु "to make fly, to spend."
जा़पणु / ज़मणु "to be born,"	जणणु "to bring forth."
द्रापणु "to be satiated,"	द्राद्णु "to satiate."
खामणु "to be on fire,"	खाद्णु "to burn."
मापणु / मामणु "to be contained,"	माद्णु "to contain."
विहामणु "to be passed, to pass" (as time),	विहाद्णु "to pass the time."
हपामणु "to grow less,"	हपाद्णु "to lessen."

In this group the neuter stems have the type *ápa* and *áma*, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type *ábe* of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the *b* of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in माइणु "to contain," rather, "to go into," Skr. √मा "to measure;" but मापणु, Skr. caus. मापयति "to cause to measure," where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of जापणु the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit √जन् is less clear. The other stems are also obscure, and I possess no data on which to establish any satisfactory explanation.

Sindhi stands alone in respect of this group; Hindi and Panjabi have a number of neuter stems with causal terminations, which stand on a different footing, and recall by their meaning the Sanskrit denominatives, having no corresponding active forms, as—

H. खिसाना "to be abashed," "to shrink away."
खियाना "to be worn out."
खुजलाना "to itch."
घबराना "to be agitated," "to be in fear" P. घबराउणा.
घमाना "to bask in the sun."
चंचलाना "to tremble," "to be unsteady." P. *id.*
P. घरलाउणा "to grow soft" (a scar).
कुम्हलाना "to wither," to grow flaccid." P. *id.*

In words of this class, also, a syllable इय is often inserted, as

खिसियाना "to grin." P. खिसिआउणा *id.*

This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24, which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive

intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राजपुत्र हवे रूप लक्षणे जानाय ॥ "He must be a king's son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) *it is known*."—Bhârat, B.-S. 378, where *jânây* = *jânâë*, "it appears," "it is evident," a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

Marathi has similarly neuters with a causal type, which recall the method of formation of the Sanskrit denominative, inasmuch as they are referred by the grammarians to a nominal origin, thus—

कडका "a cracking or crashing sound;" कडकाविणें "to crack, crash;" कडकावणें "to roar at," "to make a crashing noise."

कमता (from Persian کم) "deficient," कमतावणें "to grow less."

करकर "a grating sound," करकराविणें "to grind the teeth."

कांचा (Skr.) "doubt," काकसाविणें "to be doubtful."

—but this may also be formed from the two words कां "why?" कसा "how?" and would thus mean "to why-and-how," "to hum and ha;" just as they use in Urdu the phrase لَیت و لَعل کرنا "to prevaricate," literally to make "would that!" and "perhaps."

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in *âva* and those in *âvi*, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from थोरका "little," "few," थोरकावणें "to grow less," and थोरकाविणें "to make less," but the authorities accessible to me are not agreed about this point, and I therefore hesitate to make any definite assertion on the subject. Molesworth gives, for instance, डरकावणें *n*, "to bellow," "bluster," and डरकाविणें "to frighten by bellowing;" also डरावणी "the act of roaring at," from डराविणें or डरविणें "to intimidate," where

the *i* of the infinitive seems to be represented by *a* in the noun.

On the other hand, the close connexion of these neuters with the passive type is seen in S., where the passive characteristic इज is used, according to Stack, convertibly with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus द्राइणु or द्राइजणु "to be satiated;" while there are also verbs of two forms, one with the neuter type, the other with the causal type, but both having a neuter sense, as ढिरणु and ढिराइणु "to grow loose or slack."

Further examples are—

झपणु and झपिजणु "to grow less;" also झपामणु "to decrease."

झकाइजणु and झकिजणु "to fade," "tarnish."

माइणु and माइजणु "to be contained in."

It is not certain how far later and better scholars like Trumpp would confirm the accuracy of Stack's definition. He seems to be somewhat inaccurate and careless in drawing the distinction between the various phases of the verb.

§ 29. Secondary verbs are not so numerous as secondary nouns, and those that exist have, for the most part, a familiar or trivial meaning. They are formed by the addition of a syllable to the verbal stem, or to a noun. This latter feature is especially common in H. verbs formed from feminine nouns in *aka* (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lâl.

छुटी न शिशुता की झलक झलक्यौ जोबन अंग ॥

"The splendour of childhood has not ceased, (yet) youth shines in the limbs."—Sats. 17.

Here the substantive झलक "glitter," "splendour" (probably formed from √ ज्वल), gives rise to a verb झलकना "to shine." Similarly all the nouns quoted in the passage referred to in Vol. II. have verbs formed from them as there stated. It is un-

necessary to give a list of them, and it may be here observed that in languages which, like English, have advanced far into the analytical stage, great freedom of formation exists, so that many words may be used either as nouns or verbs. Many nouns have, in common usage, verbal terminations added to them, and thus become verbs. We see constantly in modern English, French, and German, new verbs thus formed, as, for instance, by adding *-ize, -iser, or -isiren*, as *colonize, coloniser, colonisiren*, several of which have not found their way into dictionaries. The same is the case with our Indian languages, and it is impossible here to follow or set forth all these constantly arising innovations. Those which have received the sanction of literature will be found in the dictionaries, and many more will probably be admitted to the dictionaries of the future, if the authors of those works are wise enough to keep pace with the actual growth of language, and do not permit an overstrained purism to prohibit them from truly recording the language as it exists in their day.

I will content myself with giving a few examples of this class of verbs from Marathi, which, as I have before noticed, is very rich in forms of this kind. This language has secondary stems formed by the addition of **वट**, **ऋट**, **आट**, **ऋड**, **ऋळ**, **वळ**, **ऋर**, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus—

घासणें "to rub" (Skr. √ **घृष्**), secondary stems **घसटणें** "rub," **घसरणें** "slip," **घसवटणें** (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), **घसाडणें** "scour" (pots), **घासटणें** *a*, "rub off, deface," *n*, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is H. **घसीटना** "drag."

डुबणें "to sink" (rarely used), **डुंबणें**, **डुंभ°**, **डुम°**, "to splash about in the water," **डुबकणें** *id.*, **डुबकविणें** "to plunge into water," (causal) **डुबकळणें** "to dip."

थांग "place," थांगारणें "to arrange."

थाप "pat," थापटणें "to pat," थापलणें "to back water," "to steady a vessel by short strokes of the oars while working the sails."

दंड "stick," दंडणें "to press, punish," दंडपणें "to compress," दंडावणें "to stiffen," compare B. डांडाइते "to stand up."

Materials are, unfortunately, deficient, so that in the present state of research, no thorough analysis can be made. Nor can any definite separation into classes be effected. As so many verbs of this kind, however, are derived from nouns, the course to be pursued would probably be to affiliate each group of verbs to that formation of nouns with which it corresponds, verbs which add क to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in क, and so on. In this method no further explanation is required for secondary verbs, as the origin of the affirmative syllable has been explained under the noun. Thus the secondary verbs, whose added syllable is *aṭ*, or *vaṭ*, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having *al*, *aḷ*, or cognate forms, are referable to the nouns in Vol. II. p. 90, and so on.

§ 30. Reduplicated and imitative verbal stems are very common. The former usually express sounds, or motions, while both frequently partake of the denominative character and type.

In Hindi the second syllable usually contains the same consonants and vowels as the first, and the question arises whether the first or the second of the two syllables is the original, in other words, whether reduplication is effected by prefixing or affixing a syllable. The following examples show that the reduplicated syllable, whichever it be, contains, as a rule, the same vowel as the original.

(*a*) with *a*.

खटखटाना "to knock, pat, rap," from खटखट *n. f.* onomatopœa.

खडखडाना "to clatter, rattle, jar," from खडक *n. f.* onomatopœa.

खद्खद्दाना "to bubble, simmer," ,,

खलखलाना "to rumble" (of bowels, Gk. *κορκορυγέω*, *βορβορύζω*), onamatop.

गहगहाना "to quiver," probably connected with ग्रह *q.d.* "to be seized and shaken."

छलछलाना "to mutter, murmur."

झडझडाना "to flap, flop," from झडना "to fall off."

झणझणाना "to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. झणझण.

झलझलाना "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. ज्वल्?

फडफडाना "to flutter, twitch," Skr. स्फर्?

थरथराना "to tremble, quiver," probably onomatop.

(β) with *i*.

खिलखिलाना "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatop.

गिडगिडाना "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. गै, गीति?

घिणघिणाना "to turn sick at," from घिण "disgust," Skr. घृणा; there are also verbs घिणियाना, घिणौना and घिणाना.

चिचियाना "to squeak," onomatop.

चिनचिनाना *id.* ,,

झिडझिडाना "to rave, rage, scold."

टिंटिंगाना "to twang," onomatop.

(γ) with *u*.

खुपखुपाना "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. क्षुभ् through H. खुभना and खुपना "to pierce."

गुंगुनाना "to mutter."

चुपचुपाना "to be silent, to move about quietly," from चुप "silent."

चुलचुलाना "to itch, tickle."

तुलतुलाना "to be soft or squashy."

फुसफुसाना "to whisper," onomatop.
भुरभुराना "to powder, sprinkle."

The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the root-syllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anuswâra, as in गुंगनाना, चंचनाना "to throb," and even with ल, as चंचलाना "to be unsteady," where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंचल. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with खद्खदाना, खलखलाना are found खद्वदाना and खलबलाना with the same meaning. So also चुलचुलाना and चुलबुलाना, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from चर्, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives चरचरा "talkative," चरपरा "acrid, pungent," चरफरा "active," चरबरा "expert, alert," whence the verbs चरचराना "to crackle, to sputter, to scold," चरपराना "to smart," चरफराना "to shake, swing," चरबराना "to speak plausibly, to wheedle." Other instances are—

छटपटाना "to toss, tumble, flounder."
झडबडाना "to be on fire."
झिलमिलाना "to flicker."
तडफडाना "to flutter."
तिरमिराना "to dazzle, glisten."
लटपटाना "to stagger."
लडबडाना "to stammer, stutter."

In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoetic, as ठों ठों करना "to bang, to pop," expressing the sound of a gun going off, चुं चुं करना "to pipe," as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: चिडचिडाउणा "to prate, sputter," चिडमिडाउणा "to smart," चुलचुलाउणा and चुलबुल° "to flutter," झणझणाउणा "to tingle" as the limbs when benumbed.

In Sindhi, also, I find reduplicated nouns, but few, if any, verbs, and the language does not appear to be rich even in those. From लहलह "blaze," comes लहलहाइणु "to blaze;" and a few more may be found, but the large group given in Hindi, to which many more might have been added, is either not existent or not recorded.

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as कडकडवुं and कडकडावुं "to rattle," also खडखडवुं; चटपटवुं "to fret," चणचणवुं "to throb, smart," छणछणवुं "to clink, clank," also झणझणवुं; फडफडवुं "to flap, to scold," and फडफडावुं; लडबडवुं "to shake, rock." In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

As might be expected from the genius of Marathi, there is a great variety of such verbs, more even than in Hindi. In examining only the first consonant of the alphabet, numerous formations of this kind are observed. Thus from क्रान्त for Skr. क्लान्त "fatigued," by prefixing a shortened form कं, they make कंक्रांतणें "to be distressed, to starve," and कंकांतणें "to worry, harass." From the onomatop. कच "brawl," "noise," "row," comes first a reduplicated noun कचकच, and then कचकचणें "to gnash the teeth," कचाचणें "to screech," कचकरणें "to slip, give way with a noise." With a second syllable added, beginning

(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive **कचमच** expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence **कचमणें** (from **कचमचणें**) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of **मळ** "dirt," is often changed into **कचमळणें** "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit **कृत्** "cut," or from **कष्ट** "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is **कट** expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence **कटकटणें** "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word **कडकड** expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence **कडकडणें**, which may be generally rendered "to go kaḍkaḍ," that is, "to crash, crack, peal, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is **कडमडणें** "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of **मोड** "breaking," is also pronounced **कडमोडणें**. In these outlying words, the irregular cavalry of language, forms melt into one another, like a cloud of Pandours or Cossacks hovering on the outskirts of an army, bound by no law, and disregarding all the acknowledged tactics. A list here follows:

कणकणणें "to be feverish," from **कण** and **कणकण** "feverishness," "heat and throbbing," "cramp."

करकरणें "to caw" (as a crow), from **करकर** "cawing" or any other harsh sound.

कळकळणें "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from **कळकळ** a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit **कलह** "dispute."

कसकसणें "to ache, shudder, palpitate," from कसकस "pains and aches."

कळमळणें the same as कळकळणें.

कळवळणें "to writhe, yearn."

किचकिचणें "to chatter" (as a monkey), from किचकिच "any gritty or sharp clacking sound."

कुणकुणणें "to whisper, mutter, murmur," from कुणकुण "low, soft murmuring."

Under other letters the following may be quoted:

झडझडणें "to go to work smartly," from झडझड "smartly, quickly," connected with झट, which in all the languages means "quick!" "look sharp!"

झणझणणें "to tinkle, tingle, ring."

झळझळणें "to glitter, sparkle."

झरझरणें "to trickle, ooze, pine away."

फरफरणें "to twitch, flutter."

मिरमिरणें "to sting, be pungent."

In Bengali such forms are less common, it is by nature the language of a poor scanty population, and when Bengal became rich and populous, new ideas were expressed by borrowing from Sanskrit, instead of forming new words from the existing resources. There are numerous reduplicated nouns, but these are verbalized rather by adding the verb *kar*, than by making a new verb. Thus, where M. makes a verb jhaṇjhaṇaṇeṇ, B. prefers to say झन झन or झन्‌झन करिते. The following are a few examples:

घुणघुणाइते "to buzz, growl."

झिकझिक करिते "to blaze, glitter."

टनटन क° "to throb, ache."

टिपटिपाइते "to fidget, twitch."

ঠকাঠকি ক° "to backbite or quarrel mutually."
ঠুকঠুকা ক° "to rap, tap."
ঢলঢল ক° "to sparkle, shine."
থুরথুরিতে "to quiver, tremble, shake."
ভণভণাইতে "to buzz, hum."
ভুডভুডাইতে "to murmur, whisper."

Many of these words are, as it has been seen, onomatopoetic, and in a language so unfixed as Bengali, it is impossible to say how many are really admitted into the proper stock of the language, and how many are mere local or individual peculiarities. Thus Bharat Chandra adorns, or disfigures, his poems by innumerable fanciful words of this sort, which probably no one but he ever used, and which he has merely invented for the occasion, *e.g.*

ঝনঝন কঙ্কণ রণরণ নূপুর।
ঘুনু ঘুনু ঘংঘুর বোলে॥

"The bracelets go *jhan jhan!* the anklets go *ran ran!* *Ghunu ghunu* goes the girdle of bells."—B.-S. 299.

The remarks made about Bengali apply equally to Oriya, in which there is not any very extended use either of reduplicated or onomatopoetic nouns or verbs.

§ 31. Occasional mention has been made in the foregoing sections of some of the stems used in the Gipsy verb. That strange, wandering, low-caste people has, however, picked up many of its words from Iranian and Slavonic, as well as from non-Aryan sources. But true to the original instincts of its race, it has retained Aryan stems for its most common words, only adopting new words to express the few new ideas which, in spite of its nomad unsociable life, have been forced upon it by circumstances.

Rejection of initial *h* occurs in many words, as *asáva* "to

laugh," Skr. √हस्, even when the initial *h* has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in *uvâva* "to become," Skr. √भू, Pr. हो. An *a* is also prefixed to roots, as *arakâva* "to guard, to find," Skr. √रक्ष, H. रखना; and in the impersonal verb *arâttilotar* "it is night," Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus *katâva* "to spin," H. कातना, *kerâva* "to do," H. करना, *kinâva* "to buy," Skr. √क्री, H. कीनना, *ghoshâva* "to clean," Skr. √घृष्, H. घिसाना "to rub," but घृष् might give a Pr. घुष्, whence this word, also pronounced *khoshâva*. *Kovliovâva*, from *kovlo uvâva*, Skr. कोमल, with हो "to be," "to be soft;" *khânjiovâva*, from *khânj uvâva*, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. कण्डू "itch," H. खाज, खुजली. *Khâsiovâva*, also *khâsâva*, "to cough," Skr. √कास्, but H. खांसना. *Khandâva* "to dig," Skr. √खन्; *khâva* "to eat," Skr. √खाद्, Pr. खा, H. *id.*, but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form *khaderâva*, which preserves the *d* of Sanskrit. *Khîniovâva* for *khino uvâva*, Skr. खिन्न with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; *ghedâva* "to assemble," *ghelâva* "to bring," *ghenâva* "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. √गण्, H. गिनना, for the *gh* is only so written to secure the *g* being pronounced hard; the p.p. is *ghendo*, Skr. गणित; *ghedâva* is apparently for *ghen dâva*, the latter word meaning "to give," and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H., so that *ghen dâva* = H. गिन देना. Its p.p. is *ghedino*, and that of *dâva* is *dino*, Pr. दिणो, Old-H. दीन्हा and दीना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, *ghelâva* is *ghen lâva*, where *lâva* means "to take," H. लेना From these two examples, it would appear that the *ghe* of *ghedâva* and *ghelâva* is not connected with *ghenâva*, but is Skr. √ग्रह, Pr. गेण्ह "to take."

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus *chalavâva*, Skr. √चल, H. चलना, should mean "to cause to

move," H. चलाना. It means, however, "to beat," thus *jâ, dik kon chalâvela o vudâr,* "Go, see who knocked at the door!" This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. *jâ, dekh kon chalâya dwâr ko.* The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. √चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर् and चल् mean "to move," and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चलना meaning "to move," and चरना "to graze." In Gipsy *charâva* "to eat," makes its p.p. *chalo,* the causal *charavâva* is "to lead out cattle to pasture," and a neuter verb *châriovâva* or *chaliovâva* "to be satiated." Again, *chalarâva* "to be satiated with," p.p. *chalardo* "full," "satisfied."

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, *chumi dâva* "to kiss," Skr. √चुम्ब्, H. चूमना, but the Gipsy is =चूम देना. So, also, *chungâr dâva* "to spit," probably to be referred to Skr. √चीव्, and connected with H. छींक, M. शींक "sneeze."

Under ज् occur words familiar to us in India, as *janâva* "to know," Skr. √ज्ञा, H. जानना; *jâva* "to go," Skr. √या, H. जाना, with its old-Tadbhava p.p. *gelo,* B. गेल, H. गिया, गया; *jangâva* "to awaken," Skr. √जागृ, H. जगाना, and the neuter *jangâniovâva,* H. जागरत होना, जागना; *jivâva* "to live," Skr. √जीव्, H. जीवना, जीना, p.p. *jivdo,* Skr. जीवित.

Under त we find *tavâva* "to cook," Skr. तप् p.p. *tavdo,* Skr. तापित, also *tatto* "hot," Pr. तत्त, Skr. तप्त, H. तत्ता. Connected with this probably are *táp dâva, táv dâva,* "to beat," where Skr. ताप, H. ताव, has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is *tabiovâva* or *tapiovâva* "to be burnt," as in *leskeré sheresté tábiolas shamdán* "at his head burnt a candle." A more modern form with the characteristic *l* of the p.p. in M. G. B. and O. is *tablo* "hot." A derivative is *tabarâva* (a causal) "to cause to burn."

It is apparent, from these examples, which might be indefinitely increased, that the base of Gipsy verbal stems is the Prakrit, in its earlier as well as its more modern forms; that the phases of the Indian verb are also fairly represented; that the practice of using ancillaries is also not unknown; and that thus this wild and wandering race has carried with it, wherever it has gone on the face of the earth, the principles and sentiments of speech formation which it inherits from the land of its birth, the deserts of the Indus and the Chenab.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 32. Classification of Tenses.—§ 33. The Simple Present or Aorist.—§ 34. The Imperative.—§ 35. The Future in Old Hindi and Gujarati.—§ 36. Type of the Active Verb in Sindhi and Marathi. § 37. Synopsis of the Simple Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 38. Simple Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 32. The preceding Chapter has dealt only with the stem, or that part of the verb which remains unchanged throughout all moods and tenses; we have now to consider the processes used to express the various relations which the idea involved in the stem is capable of undergoing.

The tenses of the modern verb fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the *meanings* of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the *structure* of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense

was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the Potential, though he is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya, the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

First, there are the simple tenses,—exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.

Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to form in each case one word only. In the latter

case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetical appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition.

A further development of the analytical system produces the large class of verbs with ancillaries, in which the master-stem, so to call it, remains unchanged, and the ancillary does all the work of conjugation. Each of these classes will now be considered in its turn. The present chapter is devoted to the first class, or simple tenses.

It must here also be noted that the seven languages have but one conjugation each, that is to say, that the terminations and methods of forming tenses in use in any one language are applied without variation to every verb in that language. A partial exception may, at first sight, seem to occur in Sindhi and Marathi, in both of which there is one method for conjugating neuter, and another for active verbs. It will be shown, however, that though at first sight the terminations of the neuter verb seem to differ from those of the active, as in M. **मी सुटें** "I escape," *n*, but **मी सोडीं** "I set free," *a*, yet in reality the scheme of terminations is one and the same for both, and the difference is due to a process of preparing the root to receive terminations, and to the abrasion of those terminations, in some cases from euphonic causes, and not to the existence of a double system of conjugation.

§ 33. First among the simple tenses comes, in all the languages, the old Sanskrit present indicative, which, in form, preserves clear traces of its origin, though, as in its abraded condition it now no longer indicates with sufficient clearness present time, it has wandered away into all sorts of meanings, and is given by grammarians under all sorts of titles. Con-

sidering the very vague meanings which it now expresses, especially in regard to the note of time, it has seemed to me that the Greek term "aorist" more accurately describes this tense in its modern usage than any other. The fact that it *is* a present, no matter what additional indefinite meanings may be attached to it, is, however, necessary to be borne in mind, and I think that in modern grammars it should always head the list of tenses, as the simplest and most genuine, and legitimately first in order, of them all. In those languages of this group with which I am personally acquainted, I can assert, from my own experience, that it is far more frequently used in colloquial practice as a present, pure and simple, than our grammar-writers, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the aorist in the classical form of each language in the present day are the following. (For the full forms, see the tables at the end of this chapter.)

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PLUR 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	ऊं	ए	ए	एं	ओ	एं
Panjabi	आं	एं	ए	ये	ओ	अण्
Sindhi	आं	एं	ए	ऊं	ओ	अनि
Gujarati	उं	ए	ए	ए्ये (ये)	ओ	ए
Marathi	एं	एस (अस)	ए	ऊं	आं	अत्
Oriya	एं	उ	ए	उं	अ (ŏ)	अन्ति
Bengali	इ	इस	ए	इ	अ (ŏ)	एन् (अन्)

The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in अइ, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in करइ "he does," अटइ "it is." The form in अइ is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ऐ. It seems certain that this universal ए has been formed from अइ, the termination of this person in

Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit अति. Thus चलति becomes चलइ, चले, and चले. The rustic Hindi forms चलहि, चलय, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and ह to fill a hiatus; thus चलति becomes चलहि and चलयि. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwâl the final vowel is lost, and they say चल for चले. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriya has here preserved the termination unaltered, as करन्ति "they do," मारन्ति "they beat," though in common conversation there is a tendency to drop the final *i*, and to say *karant*, *mârant*. P. S. and B. have lost the त, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to anunâsika, and Gujarati has rejected the nasal altogether, so that the 3 plural is the same in form as 3 singular. This also is the case in the dialects of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, which have मारै "they strike," where classical H. has मारैं. After the rejection of the त, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be अनि, as मारनि, closely approximate to which is Garhwâli मारन. The Braj form मारैं is deducible also from मारनि, through an intermediate मारंइ and मारइं. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into मारीं; while the typo मरंइ is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मारंयं, where य has been substituted for इ, and an inorganic second anunâsika added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

Marathi stands alone in preserving the *t* of the Sanskrit *anti*. In old Marathi the final vowel is preserved and lengthened, as उठती "they rise;" in the modern language उठत. In the Konkani dialect[1] all three persons of the plural are said to end

[1] Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.

in *ti*. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which is not very accurate, the words are thus written, *amî assati* "we are," *tumî assati* "ye are," *te assati* "they are." We should probably write असति = classical M. असत. The author tells us, however, that one may also say *amî assaũ* "we are," which is classical M. first person plural आम्ही असूं, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in ए in H. and G., and is from Skr. असि by elision of स, thus चलसि, चलहि, चलइ, चलै (Braj), चले. In B. it formerly ended in असि, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the *a* weakened to *i*, thus देखिस "thou seest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the स has persisted, as सुटेस "thou dost get free," where the *e* is apparently due to the epenthesis of the final *i* of an earlier सुटसि. The *i* may, however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and one may say सुटस. P. and S. take anunâsika, as करें "thou doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the ह, which has disappeared. The termination द्स is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as किहिस "he did," कहिस "he said" (also I or thou). The O. termination उ for this person is abnormal, and I am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in *o*, for though B. and O. write अ, they pronounce ŏ, and when emphasis is used, ō. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in *tha*, through Pr. *dha* and *ha*, thus चलह "ye go," where, by elision of *h* and conflation of the two vowels, we should get चलअ and चला. The final *â* has been lengthened to *o*, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final anuswâra is typical of the plural, so that we get चलां. The process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets the second person plural ends in *â* without anuswâra.

There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in ऊं (उं), while the plural ends in ऐं (ए); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in ऊं, while ऐं is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive चलें from चलामि, where the presence of the final इ accounts easily for the ए, and so the plural चलामः with its Prakrit representative चलामु would regularly result in ऊं. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चलउं and चलौं, चलूं, चलों. In the Rajputana dialects it is चलां, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. चलामि softened to चलांइ would become चलाइं, whence M. and O. चलें "I go," and further shortened, B. चालि *id.*, while the rejection of final इ gives P. चलां, S. हलां "I go." The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. चलामः, Pr. चलामु, would become चलांउ and चलाउं, whence dialectic H. चलां (Rajputana), चलूं, चलौं, चलों (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हलूं, M. *id.*, G. चलुं. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H. and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as "we" even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in *um*, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, हौं, so that it would be natural to say हौं करौं "I do," on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302). Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular करौं is derived from Pr. करामि by loss of the final *i* and softening of the *m* into anuswâra, we are still as far as ever from the

origin of the plural in *ẽ*. I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of H. the 1 pl. ends in न, as मारन "we strike," which seems to be connected with the 3 pl. of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl. is identical with 3 pl. Now the 3 pl. has a right to an *i*, coming as it does from a Skr. *-anti*, and the presence of the *n* in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswâra in poetic Hindi, as मारहिं "they strike," and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswâra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारीं both for 1 pl. and 3 pl., where the ending retains the nasal and the *i*, though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that करें 1 pl., "we do," is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as "we," yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say *ham karũngâ* "I will do," literally "nos faciam," a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says "je faisons," "j'avons;" and the English one "we goes," "he do," "they says."

The above remarks leave this difficult point still far from elucidation. It is surprising that none of the grammarians have observed the existence of the difficulty, or offered any hints towards its solution. It is further complicated by the fact that P. and G. insert *i*, *i*, *ay* or *iy* between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. पढ़ये, पढ़िये, G. पढ़ीये, पढ़ये "we read." Here it has been suggested that the Apabhraṇça

form in *imo* is the origin, thus हसिमो "we laugh" became हसियो and हसिये, but the change from म to य is unusual.

On the whole, then, the correspondence of the modern forms of this tense with those of the ancient synthetical present is so close that there can be no doubt as to its derivation therefrom. The terminations, however, have been so much worn away, and in some respects confused with one another, that the tense itself no longer indicates present time with sufficient definiteness, and other forms, which will be treated of hereafter, have been called in to supply the place of a present. This tense has thus become vague, and in modern times is often used in both a future and a past sense. In Marathi grammars it is set down as an "Habitual Past," so that मी सुटें means "I used to get loose." In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as मैं घल्लां "I would send," or, "I am going to send." It bears this meaning also in Hindi. Still, in literature, it is frequently the present, and nothing else, while in Bengali it is used as an "historic present," namely, that tense which is used by historians when, to give vigour to their style, they speak of past events in the present tense, thus *tatpare katak-guli loka giyâ pâthara sangraha kare, emana samaye ekakhâni bara pâthara khasiyâ pare,* "After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;" where *kare* and *pare,* though they must be translated by preterites, are really the old synthetic present. This practice is extremely common in modern Bengali, both in the literary and in the colloquial style.[1]

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

[1] In the Gujarati grammars of Leckey and Edalji this tense appears several times over. It is the first present and first habitual past of the Indicative mood, first Aorist of the Subjunctive, first present of the second Potential and the Optative. All this merely means that it is used in the senses which, in a Latin or Greek verb, would be assigned to those tenses; but as the words are the same in all, it would be quite as accurate, and much simpler, to record it once only, and note that it is used in a variety of senses.

various senses in which this tense is now employed, as the point is one which belongs not to the domain of comparative philology, but to the grammar of each individual language. The name "aorist," which I have suggested, has the advantage of being indefinite as to time, and in this way represents fairly the scope of the tense.

§ 34. The next simple tense is the IMPERATIVE, and this, like the aorist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the aorist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings:

	S. 1.	2.	3.	P. 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	ऊं	√[1]	ए	एं	ओ	एं
Panjabi		√			ओ	
Sindhi		उ			ओ	
Gujarati		√			ओ	
Marathi	ऊं	√	ओ	ऊं	आ	ओत
Oriya	एं	√	उ	उ	अ (ŏ)	अन्तु
Bengali		√	उक		अ (ŏ)	उन्

In this scheme only the second persons singular and plural have been given for P. S. and G., because the other persons are the same as the aorist. This is also true of H., the aorist being used as a potential in all these languages, the first and third persons of both numbers can only be considered imperatives in so far as the potential is itself imperative, just as in Latin and other Indo-European languages. So we may say in H. *paṛhe* "he reads," or, "let him read." It was shown in §§ 4, 5, etc., that even in Pali and the Prakrits the present and imperative had been confounded together, a practice that has paved the way for the modern system.

It is only in M. O. and B. that the third singular has a

[1] This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as *kar* "do thou!" *paṛh* "read thou!"

separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. अतु, Pr. अउ, which in M. becomes ओ. In M., however, the termination ऊ for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. उ and B. उक, the final क of which, however, presents considerable difficulty. It will be discussed along with a similar termination in the future.

The third plural in M. O. and B. is parallel to the singular, and is connected with Skr. अन्तु, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. अन्ति. In O., owing to the influence of the final *u*, this termination is often written *untu*, as *karuntu* "let them do," *jâûntu* "let them go."

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final अ is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a य is sounded after the final consonant, as कर्य "do thou," बोल्य "speak thou," चाल्य "go thou."[1] But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as *kar* "do," *dekh* "see." In the H. mediæval poets this person often ends in हि, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in ऊ, as

तुम्ह लेऊ तुम्ह लेऊ मुष जंपि जोध ॥

"Seize ye! seize ye! muttering of war."—Chand, Pr. R. xix. 33.

This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of एं, as पावें "find thou!" for पावइं, from पावहि, with inorganic anuswâra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in उ, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारव "beat ye!" common in the eastern area, is really a future, "ye shall beat." Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,

[1] Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.

the future is used, as राम को अपने संग लाओगे "You will bring Râm with you," that is, "bring him with you!" So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम आजही करना "Do all this work to-day," literally, "(Take care) to do," इस रिण को चुका दे तब चली जाना "Pay this debt, and then go away."[1]

Most of the seven languages have, in addition to the ordinary imperative, a respectful form used in addressing a superior, or in entreating and asking a favour. This, in Hindi, ends in Sing. इये, Plur. इयो. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are—

Sindhi	Sing. 2.	इजे, एजे,	Plur. 2.	इजो, एजो.
Gujarati	,,	अजे,	,,	अजो.

In a few stems in H. which end in *e*, ज is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to *i*, as ले "take," लीजिये, दे "give," दीजिये; the stem कर "do" is in this case changed to की, making कीजिये "be pleased to do." Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular इजु instead of इजे, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in *u*; and in the plural, instead of इजो, the forms इजा, इजाइ, इजाह, इजाङ are used when great respect is implied, as वञिजा "be pleased to go," सुणिजाह "be pleased to hear." Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana इजे, इज्यै, ईजे, or simply जे, as मारिज्यै, मारीजे, मार्जे "be pleased to strike."

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that *jja* and *jjâ* may be optionally substituted for the affixes of the present and future, also for those of the imperative, in verbs which end in a vowel. In Old-Marathi, accordingly, a form with inserted ज is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as करिजेतो "he does," करिजेला "he did," करिजेल "he will do," करिजे "do

[1] Pincott's Sakuntalâ, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.

thou," in which the junction vowel between the inserted ज and the termination has been changed to *e*. As, however, the inserted ज is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिजेतो "I am struck." Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in § 4, and by the dotted ज़ in S., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The य of the Skr., as in पचेयं, is doubled in Pa. नचेय्यामि, and hardened to ज्ज in Pr., whence the modern ज, with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of *ĕ* to *a* in G. (cf. G. द्‍ख = देख). As Vararuchi, in extending the use of this increment to present and future, is writing of the Maharashtri dialect, it is not surprising that the modern Marathi should show a wider use thereof than the sister idioms, in which the sense of a potential has passed over into that of a respectful imperative, or, as Trumpp well calls it, precative.

To this tense belong the two M. words म्हणजे and पाहिजे. The former is the precative of म्हण (Skr. √ भन्) "to speak," and means literally, "be pleased to say;" in modern times it means "that is to say," "*i.e.*," "videlicet," as अश्व म्हणजे घोडा "*açva*, that is to say, a horse." It has also a future form म्हणजेल, meaning "in that case," as पाऊस पडला म्हणजेल पीक होईल "If rain falls, *then* (or, in that case) there will be a crop." The latter, with a plural पाहिजेत, and a future पाहिजेल, is from पाहणे "to see," literally "please to see," and means "it ought," as हें काम केलें पाहिजे "this work *ought* to be done," literally "please to see (that) this work is done;" "see" being used in M., as in English, in the sense of "seeing to," "providing for," "taking care for."[1]

Similar to these is the H. चाहिये, lit. "please to wish," but

[1] See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.

meaning "ought," and, like पाहिजे in M., used with the past participle, as यह काम किया चाहिये "this work *ought* to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, चाहिये is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say करने चाहिये. In fact, the construction both in M. and H. with the past participle remounts to a period when the participial character of this form was not yet forgotten. Since, however, the past participle in H. has come to be used simply as a preterite, this construction has lost its significance. Not so in M., where, as will be seen hereafter, the distinction between the preterite and participle still survives.

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word जोइये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोवुं "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मनें बीजो वर जोइये नहीं "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oportet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफर मां जे कांइ जोइतुं हतुं "Whatever *was required* for the voyage," जो मारे हरण जोइशे तो "*Should I require* venison, then . . . ."

§ 35. A simple future derived from the old synthetical tense exists only in Gujarati and in Old-Hindi. The tense is as follows, taking the stem *kar* "do," as a type:

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
Gujarati	करीश	करशे	करशे	करिशुं	करशो	करशे.
Old-H.	करिहौं	करिहै	करिहै	करिहैं	करिहो	करिहैं.

Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana :—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
करस्यूं करसूं	करसी	करसी	करस्यां	करस्यो	करसी.

There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters स, ग, ल, and ब. The *sa* type has a variant *ha*. The *ga*, *la*, and *ba* types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The *sa* type, with its variant *ha*, found in G. and Old-H., with dialectic variations in several of the modern rustic dialects of H., is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in *ishya*, as in *karishyâmi*, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali *karissâmi*, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करसूं seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. करस्यां, though now a plural, represents करिस्सामि better than does करसूं, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिस्सामु, just as does G. करिशुं. The G. 1 sing. करीश has rejected all terminations, and lengthened the preceding vowel; this form is also, in the general confusion, due to the corruption of personal affixes, used for the 2 sing. The second and third persons of both numbers may be traced back to the corresponding persons of the Prakrit just as in the aorist, and the loss of the *i* in the second syllable is probably due to the neglect of vowels in G., where the first plural even is written in three ways, as करीशुं, करिशुं, or करशुं. The orthography of G. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the स्स of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिहिति side by side with गमिस्सति. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. करिहै represents Pr. करिहइ from करिहति; 3 pl. करिहैं = करिहंति, and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms करिहहि, करिअहि, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as करैहौं, करैहै, where the *ai* has crept into

the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the *ga* type *karai-gá*. The commonest form is that given above, with short *i* in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

हम सावंत सब जुझिहैं ॥
राज चंदेल न जाय ॥

"We nobles all *will fight*,
(That) the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish."
—Pr. R. xxi. 94.

के सिर तुमहि समप्पिहौं ॥
के सिर धरिहौं छत्र ॥

"Either I *will yield* my head to thee,
Or I *will put* the umbrella on my head."—Pr. R. i. 279.
(*i.e.* I will either die or conquer.)

कनवज लूटि रिधि सब हरिहौं ॥
पाछै जुध मोहोबे करिहौं ॥

"Having plundered Kanauj, I *will carry off* all your riches,
After that, I *will fight* at Mahoba."—*ib.* xxi. 87.

It is also the ordinary future throughout Tulsi Das's Ramayan, as

सबहि भाँति पिय सेवा करिहौं ॥
मारग जनित सकल श्रम हरिहौं ॥

"In every manner I *will serve* my beloved,
I *will take away* all the fatigue of the journey."
—Ay-k. 399.

Also universally in Kabir, as

ना जानो कब मारिहै क्या घेर क्या परदेस ॥

"Ye know not when he (*i.e.* death) *will strike*, whether at home or abroad."—Ram. xix. 5.

बहुरि न ऐसी पैहौ थाना ॥

"*You will* never *find* such a place again.—*ib.* xliii. 2.

where पैहौ = पाइहौ 2 pl. fut. of पाना "to find."

When the *ga* future, which is now the ordinary type in Hindi, arose, cannot be clearly defined. It is not in use in the

mediæval poets, and, as has been shown above, it has not succeeded in expelling the old synthetical future from the rustic dialects.

§ 36. In M. and S. the terminations of the old present or aorist, and those of the imperative in S., seem at first sight to differ in the active from those in the neuter verb, and some remarks are necessary in explanation of this peculiarity. The neuter सुटणें "to get loose," and the active सोडणें "to set free," are thus conjugated in the present in M.

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
सुटें	सुटेस (°टस)	सुटे	सुटूं	सुटां	सुटत.
सोडीं	सोडीस	सोडी	सोडूं	सोडां	सोडीत.

Similarly in S. the neuter हलणु "to go," and the active छड्डणु "to give up," conjugate the present thus:—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
हलां	हलें	हले	हलूं	हलो	हलनि.
छडिआं	छडिएं	छडे	छडिऊं	छडिओ	छडीनि.
	छडें				छडिनि.
	छडीं				

On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of ई in M., and of इ in S. This inserted vowel has, however, disappeared in some persons, as in M. first and second plural, and in S. third singular, and, optionally, also second singular and third plural. Some writers on Marathi seek to derive the forms of the neuter from those of the Skr. Âtmanepada, and the forms of the active from those of the Parasmaipada. There is, however, a fatal objection to this argument in the fact that the Skr. Âtmanepada had died out of use so early as the Prakrits, and that the neuter forms of M. agree closely with the forms in use in the other languages, where there is nothing to lead us to look for

an origin from the Âtmanepada, inasmuch as the known changes of the Parasmaipada afford a satisfactory explanation, and in those languages the type which in M. is restricted to neuter verbs is used for both neuter and active. A more probable supposition is that which would derive the forms of the active in M. and S. from the Skr. causal, the characteristic *aya* having been changed in Pr. to *e*, and still further shortened in S. to *i*, while in M. the personal terminations have been blended with the य of *aya* into a long vowel; thus M. सोडी presupposes an earlier form सोडइ or सोडे, for it must be noted that the termination ए resulting from Skr. अति, Pr. अइ, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. छडिआं represents an older छोटयामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोडों for सोडिएं, through सोडयाइं. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic ई holds the same place in the word as the characteristic *aya* of the Sanskrit causal, namely, *between* the stem and the termination: so it does in Sindhi in all the persons. The value of the comparative method is shown in cases like this where a student, who is guided by the facts of one language only, is liable to be misled, owing to want of the light supplied by the sister languages.

It is only in S. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in *u*, as मरणु "to die," imperative मरु "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in ऽ, as पालणु "to cherish," imperative पालि "cherish thou." Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in *u*, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in S. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in *u*, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in ऽ. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the ऽ would

appear to be the representative of the Skr. *aya* of the causal. Thus while Skr. मर produces S. मरु, Skr. पालय produces S. पालि, shortened from पाले (Pr. पालेहि). The second plural of neuters ends in *o*, as हलो "go ye!" while that of actives ends in *io* or *yo*, as छडिओ or छड्यो. The earlier form in *iho* (Pr. इह) is also in use as छडिहो.

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in *u*, notwithstanding the rule, for the words are derived from simple Sanskrit active verbs of the Bhû conjugation, or, if in Sanskrit of other conjugations, yet reduced to the Bhû type in Prakrit.

पढणु "to read,"	imp.	पढु	Skr.	√पठ्	imp.	पठ.
पसणु "see,"	,,	पसु	,,	पश्यति	,,	पश्य.
पिहणु "grind,"	,,	पिङ	,,	√पिष्	,,	पिण्डि, but Pr. पीस (Hem. iv. 185).
चरणु "graze,"	,,	चरु	,,	√चर्	,,	चर.
रखणु "keep,"	,,	रखु	,,	√रक्ष्	,,	रक्ष.
कहणु "say,"	,,	कङ	,,	√कथ्	,,	कथय, but Pr. कह (Hem. iv. 2).

आखणु "to inform," makes आखु and आखि, it is from Skr. आख्या, imperative आख्याहि, from which comes regularly आखि, through a form आखहि, but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have आखु. धंवणु "to blow" (with bellows), makes धंवु and धंवि, it is from Skr. ध्मा, imp. धम, whence regularly धंवु. Here the form धंवि, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in *u*. As a general result, it may be suggested that each of these peculiar verbs requires to be traced back to its origin, in which case there will generally be found some special reason for the divergence from the normal type.

§ 37. Here follows a table showing the simple tenses in each language. A common verbal stem in each is given to exhibit the method of adding the terminations.

		HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BANGALI.
		dekh "see."	*mār* "beat."	*hal* "go."	*chhod* "leave."	*suṭ* "escape."	*kar* "do."	*dekh* "see."
AORIST.	S. 1	देखूं	मारां	हलां	छोडुं	सुटें	करें	देखि
	2	देखे	मारें	हलें	छोडे	सुटेस (०टस)	करु	देखिस
	3	देखे	मारे.	हले	छोडे	सुटे	करे (करइ)	देखे
	Pl. 1	देखें	मारये	हलूं	छोडये	सुटूं	करुं	देखि
	2	देखो	मारो	हलो	छोडो	सुटां	कर	देख
	3	देखें	मारण	हलनि	छोडे	सुटत	करन्ति	देखेन
IMPERATIVE.	S. 1	देखूं				सुटूं	करें	देखि
	2	देखु	मार	हलु	छोड	सुट	करु	देखु
	3	देखे				सुटो	करु	देखुक
	Pl. 1	देखें				सुटूं	करुं	देखि
	2	देखो	मारो	हलो	छोडो	सुटा	कर	देख
	3	देखें				सुटोत	करुन्तु	देखुन
FUTURE.		OLD HINDI.	EAST-RAJP.					
	S. 1	देखिहौं	मारस्यूं (०सूं)	*deest*	छोडीश (०एश)	*deest*	*deest*	*deest*
	2	देखिहै	मारसी	,,	छोडशे	,,	,,	,,
	3	देखिहै	मारसी	,,	छोडशे	,,	,,	,,
	Pl. 1	देखिहैं	मारस्यां	,,	छोडीशुं	,,	,,	,,
	2	देखिहौ	मारस्यो	,,	छोडशो	,,	,,	,,
	3	देखिहैं	मारसी	,,	छोडशे	,,	,,	,,

§ 38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. *a*, 2. *sa*, *s*, 3. *l*; Pl. 1. *sa*, *s*, 2. *na*, *n*, 3. *na*, *n*. Thus from *keráva* "to do"—

Sing. 1. keráva, or keráv.	Pl. 1. kerása, or kerás.
2. kerása „ kerás.	2. keréna „ kerén.
3. keréla „ kerel.	3. kerena „ kerén.

Of the two forms, those ending with *a* are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the *a* are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also keresa, kerés. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels *á* and *e*, as ker-á-sa, ker-é-sa, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the *e* originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have पुक्कामि and पुक्केमि, रोचामि and रोचेमि, हारइ and हारेइ, करइ and करेइ. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination *ámi* of S. 1. in Paspati's *áva*, or *áv*, and *asi* in his *ása*, or *ás*. So also *anti*, Pr. *enti*, reappears in *ena* or *en*. The *ela*, *el* of S. 3. may stand to *ati* in the same relation as the *ila* of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. *ita*; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the *ena*, *en* may have been borrowed from P. 3, for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1, with its ending in *s*, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as *jâmi* "I go," *ávami* "I come," *stâmi* "I am," and the following almost pure Prakrit words, *bihemi* "I fear," *chinemi* "I cut,"

dámi, demi "I give," *jánami, jánemi* "I know," *enemi* "I bring" (from आणी), *kinimi* "I buy" (क्री), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

The imperative is the only other simple tense, it has the forms *ker* "do thou," *kerén*, do ye," *me kerel* "let him do," *me keren* "let them do." The meaning and origin of this prefix *me* is not explained by Paspati, and I am not aware of anything in the Indian languages with which it can be connected. It is probably a construction borrowed from modern Greek, or Turkish, or some of the languages spoken in or near Rumelia. The imperative is, in its general form, precisely analogous to the languages of our group, but there is nothing specially noteworthy about it.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 39. Definition of the Participial Tenses.—§ 40. The Participle Active.—§ 41. Tenses formed thereby—the Sindhi Future.—§ 42. Marathi Indicative and Conditional Present.—§ 43. Bengali and Oriya Conditional.—§ 44. Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati Present.—§ 45. The Past Participle Passive.—§ 46. Early Tadbhava Participles in Sindhi and Panjabi.—§ 47. The same in Gujarati and Marathi.—§ 48. The same in Old and New Hindi.—§ 49. Tenses formed from the Past Participle.—§ 50. The *PRAYOGAS*.—§ 51. The Future Participle Passive.—§ 52. Tenses formed from it in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi.—§ 53. The Future in Oriya, Bengali, and Eastern Hindi.—§ 54. The Hindi and Panjabi Future.—§ 55. Marathi Future compared with that in Certain Hindi Dialects.—§ 56. Synopsis of the Participial Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 57. Participial Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 39. So widely has the modern verb diverged from its parent, that the simple tenses, in which there still remain traces of the ancient synthetic structure, are, as we have just seen, extremely few. Far more numerous in all the languages are those tenses which are formed by the aid of a participle derived directly from the Prakrit. These tenses may be divided into two classes, (1) consisting either of a participle alone, as in H. *chaltâ* "he moves," which is really "moving (he is)," or of a participle, to which are attached much-worn fragments of the old Sanskrit substantive verb, as in M. *hasatos* "thou laughest," which is really "laughing thou art," Pr. *hasanto 'si* (whether the remnant of the substantive verb still appear, or whether it have entirely dropped out, in either case the principle underlying the formation is the same, and words

like H. *chaltâ*, and M. *hasatos*, belong, therefore, to the same category): (2) consisting of a participle, to which is subjoined a substantive verb, the two words standing separate, but forming one phrase, as in H. *dekhtâ hai* "he sees," *i.e.* "he is seeing," M. *lihit âhe* "he is writing."

Between these two classes there is this fundamental difference, that in the former the traces of the substantive verb which do exist are still in the Prakrit stage of development, whereas in the latter the substantive verb, which is combined with the participle, is not in the Prakrit shape, but is a later form, evolved by the languages out of the Prakrit.

The first of these two classes I propose to call "participial tenses," and they will be treated of in this chapter; the second I shall call, following the example of the grammarians, "compound tenses," and shall reserve their discussion for another chapter.

The participle used in the formation of tenses may be traced back to the Prakrit equivalents of the following Sanskrit participles.

1. The present Active (Parasmai.), as in पचन् *m.*, पचन्ती *f.*, पचत् *n.*

2. The past Passive (with inserted इ), as in कृतस् *m.*, कृता *f.*, कृतं *n.* (Pr. करिओ etc.).

3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in दातव्यस् *m.*, °तव्या *f.*, °तव्यं *n.*

To these must be added certain much abraded forms of special past participles, which are used in a peculiar way in three of the languages, as will be shown hereafter, and it must be borne in mind that, especially in the case of the past participle passive (noted as p.p.p.), it is the Prakrit forms that are to be looked to, rather than those which occur in classical Sanskrit. The classical language does not prefer to insert the intermediate इ in the p.p.p., but the popular languages do prefer it to a very great extent, so much so, that it has almost

become the rule to insert it, and the cases where it is omitted may be classed as exceptions.

§ 40. The participle of the present active in Pali and the Prakrit takes the forms of the *a*-stem of nouns, and retains the nasal throughout; thus पचंतो *m.*, पचंती *f.*, पचंतं *n.* The variations introduced by the conjugational peculiarities of the Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening of त into द, and declines it for gender and number thus (*hal* "go")—

Sing. हलंदो *m.*, हलंदी *f.* Pl. हलंदा *m.*, हलंदिऊं *f.*, "going."

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic *i* appears (§ 36), but here lengthened to *ī*, as (*bhar* "fill")—

Sing. भरींदो *m.*, भरींदी *f.* Pl. भरींदा *m.*, भरींदिऊं *f.* "filling."

There are some minor exceptions and contractions which may be learnt from the special grammar of the language, but the forms given above are the regular types.

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as *já* "go," जांदा "going," *ho* "be," हुंदा "being," *seü* "serve," सेउंदा "serving." In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मारंदा or मारेंदा "beating." In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मारदा *m.*, मारदी *f.*; plural मारदे *m.*, मारदीआं *f.* Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear जाना, हुना for जांदा, हुंदा.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally ended in *ant*, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination *at*. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure, to suit his metre, as चरन तीन भज्जंत "*possessing* three feet"

(Pr. R. i. 61); श्रवन सुनत होइ भंग। "the ear *hearing*, it is broken" (*ib.* i. 159); रजंत "shining," सजंत "arraying," सुभंत "being beautiful," कटंत "being cut," etc. (*ib.* vi. 18), but बजत "playing (music)," चढत "mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as जात "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7); गुंजत "humming" (*ib.* 9); ध्यावत "meditating," पावत "finding," भावत "being pleased," गावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediæval poets, thus Bihari Lall धरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (पडत) "falling" (*ib.*), सोहत "being beautiful," लसत "appearing," चहियत "looking" (*ib.* 7, 9, etc.). Kabir जियत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); बंधत "being bound" (*ib.* 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing. मारता *m.*, मारती *f.*; pl. मारते *m.*, मारतीं *f.* "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms मारतु *m.*, मारति *f.*; pl. मारत *m. f.* The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as मारन्तो, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, मारतो. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form मारनू, which probably arises from मारन्तो, just as Panjabi जाना from जांदा.

It would seem that, to account for the co-existence of these two forms, one ending in a consonant, and the other in *á* (=o), we must have recourse to Hoernle's theory of the *ka-* affix, and derive करंत, करत from Pr. करन्तो, while we derive करंता, करता from a Pr. करंतको. The *ka-* theory, however, thus begins to assume rather formidable dimensions, and will, ere long, require a whole treatise to itself.

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in तां, as छोडतां "loosing," the other declinable, as sing. छाडतो *m.*, ती *f.*, तुं *n.*; pl. छोडता *m.*, ती *f.*, तां *n.* The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in ते, as छोडते, which,

like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in तां has the ending of the old nom, pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as मारा बंधनें छोडतां तुरा दांत भागा "If *in loosing* my bonds thy teeth should break."[1] Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as गंगायाम्, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as कर्तुं. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारे आवतां "on my coming," the second, of such as करतां शिखवेछे "he teaches to do." This, however, is very doubtful.[2]

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त्, तां, and तांना, as सुटत्, सुटतां, सुटतांना. The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle ना added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic *i* appears, as सोडीत, सोडीतां, सोडीतांना "loosing." There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. सुटता *m.*, सुटती *f.*, सुटतें *n.*; pl. सुटते *m.*, सुटत्या *f.*, सुटतीं *n.*

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in उ or ुं, as देखु, देखुं "seeing." Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in न्तं, though the intermediate steps are not easily traced.

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in इते, as देखिते, and is now used as an infinitive, meaning "to see." Literally, it means "in seeing," and is used in this sense by Bidyâpati, and the older poets. Thus केश निङ्गाडिते बहे जल धारा। "*In wringing* (*or*

[1] Leckey, Grammar, p. 179. [2] Grammar, p. 113.

from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water" (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); हेराइते हृदये हानल पांचवान। "*On seeing* (her), love smote him in the heart" (*ib.* 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as जाइते पेखनु नाहर गोरी। "I saw the fair one *go* to bathe (*i.e. in going*, or *while going*)" (*ib.* 13, 13); कानु हेराइते एवे भेल परमाद। "*In seeing* (or *to see*) Kánh, there has been now delight" (*ib.* 20, 10). So Bhârat शुनाइते शुनिते पाइब समाचार "*By causing to hear*, and *by hearing*, I shall obtain news" (Bidya S. 247).

§ 41. Having thus given the forms of the present participle, we next proceed to exhibit the tenses constructed therefrom, either with or without the addition of fragments of the old substantive verb, and it will be seen that there is great variety in the practice of the respective languages, though all the variations are sufficiently alike to justify their being classed generally as structurally present tenses. In some cases the sense of present time is more clear and definite than that afforded by the old present of the synthetic system, or, as we now call it, the aorist, while in others it has wandered away in different directions.

Sindhi,[1] to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus

Sing. हलंदो *m.*, हलंदी *f.* Pl. हलंदा *m.*, हलंदिऊं *f.* "he, she, etc., will go."

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb अस् "to be," though much abraded and indistinct, it runs

Sing. हलंदें *m.*, हलंदिअं *f.* Pl. हलंदउ *m.*, हलंदिऊं *f.* "thou, ye, etc., will go."

The singular masculine ends in एं, just as does the corre-

[1] This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.

sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, *halando asi* = *haland' asi* = *haland' aĩ* = *halandẽ*. The anuswâra is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of *s*, and first stood over the *a* of *aï*; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from *halandî asi*, where the final long *î* of the participle is shortened, and *asi* = *aï* = *ẽ*, giving *halandĩẽ*, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted *halandiã*. The plural masculine arises from *halandâ stha*, where *stha* has become *tha*, and then *ha*; the *h* being dropped, we get *halandâa* = *halando*, subsequently resolved into its present form *halandaũ*. The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

In the same way may be explained the first person of both numbers.

Sing. हलंदुसि *m.*, हलंदिअसि *f.* Pl. हलंदासीं *m.*, हलंदिऊसीं *f.*

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of स्म into स, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural असीं and असा (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus *halando asmi* becomes *halando asi*, then *halandu 'si*, the final *o* being shortened to *u*. In the feminine, however, the elision of the *a* of *asmi* cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi; instead, the *î* of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing *halandy asi*, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or हलंद्यसि, or even हलंदियसि. As to the termination सीं of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular सि, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. स्मः, which, if the म be rejected, would yield सो or सु, but not, according to any known processes, सीं.

§ 42. Closely analogous to the Sindhi future is the definite present in Marathi. In this tense, as in the S. future, the third

person preserves no trace of the substantive verb, and in this respect curiously resembles the periphrastic future of Sanskrit (*bodhitâsmi, bodhitâsi,* but *bodhitâ*).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense. करितो or करिता would always imply "he does," never "doing." For the purely participial sense the indeclinable participles given in the last section are used.

There is much more difficulty in tracing out the Marathi persons than those of Sindhi, not only because the remains of the substantive verb are more abraded, but because in the second and third persons there are two sets of terminations, one of which is used when the sense is that of the indicative present, the other when it is conditional.

Beginning with the third person, we have these forms (*sut* "escape"):

Indicative. Sing. सुटतो *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.* Pl. सुटतात *m., f., n.*, "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. सुटता *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.* Pl. सुटते *m.*, त्या *f.*, तीं *n.*, "were he, etc., to escape."

Here the indicative strikes us at once as the older type; adjectives do not now in M. end in *o* in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtri Prakrit; the *to* of the indicative therefore preserves the earlier form. So also in the plural there is but one form for all three persons which contains the verb *santi,* in Old-M. changed to *âti,* just as in the third plural of the aorist, but with disregard of the varying terminations for gender of the modern participle. The conditional, on the other hand, is simply the modern participle, with its full range of endings for number and gender.

The second person runs thus:

Indicative. Sing. सुटतोस *m.*, तीस *f.*, तेंस *n.* Pl. सुटतां *m., f., n.*

Conditional. Sing. सुटतास *m.*, तीस *f.*, तेंस *n.*, Pl. सुटतां *m., f., n.*

Again, in the indicative, the older ending in *o*, *suṭatos=suṭato 'si (asi)*; while in the conditional, *suṭatâs = suṭatâ asi*, with the modern ending in *â*. The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is—

Sing. सुटतों *m.*, तें *f.*, तों *n.* Pl. सुटतों *m. f. n.*

Final anuswâra here represents probably Pr. sing. *amhi*, pl. *amho*; but the *sandhi* is irregular, as *f. suṭatẽ=suṭati amhi*; the variant *suṭatyẽ*, used in the Konkan, is more regular for *suṭaty amhi*. The pl. *suṭatõ = suṭatâ amho*, where, again, the steps of transition to *suṭatõ* are difficult to work out.

§ 43. A similar use of the participle, in a conditional sense, occurs in Bengali and Oriya. In the former, the present tense is made up by using an auxiliary, and it will come under discussion in the next chapter, but the conditional has traces of the old Pr. form of the verb, and therefore belongs to this place. The tense is (*dekh* "see")—

Sing. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखितिस, 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. देखितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): *dekhitâm* therefore *=dekhita asmi=dekhita amhi* in the sing., and *dekhita amhu* in the pl., lit. "seeing I am;" *dekhitis=dekhita asi*, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the *i* has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; *dekhitâ* similarly *= dekhita stha*, whence *dekhita tha = dekhitaha = dekhitâ*. So, also, *dekhiten = dekhita (s)anti*, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Oriya this tense runs thus:

Sing. 1. देखंति, 2. देखंतु, 3. देखंता. Pl. 1. देखंतु (तुं), 2. देखंत, 3. देखंते.

In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. *dekhanto*, O. *dekhantâ*, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. *dekhante* preserved in the 3 pl. The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Saûskrit present *asmi, asi*, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with জদি (যদি) "if," prefixed, "if I were to do," etc.; when used alone, it means "I might or should do," and in B. narrative it occasionally appears as an habitual past, "I used to do."

It should also be mentioned that just as the Bengali pandits have banished the old singular of the pronoun and declared it vulgar, so they have branded the singular number of all their tenses as low, and those grammarians who write under pandit influence gravely assure us that "the singular and plural are the same in Bengali verbs, and it is the nominative case before them which determines whether they are singular or plural" (Yates's Gr., ed. Wenger, p. 43). When they come to the real old singular, their agitation is extreme, they are too honest to leave it out, and too fastidious to put it in. So they preface it thus, "If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form; but it is not found in good composition. We should have been happy to pass it over entirely; but to enable the student to understand what he will *but too often* hear (alas! yes, far too often, in the mouths of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in Bengal), it seems necessary to give one example" (*ib.* p. 47).

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur রহিল "he remained," বলিলা "he said," জিজ্ঞাসিলা "he asked," দিয়াছে "he has given," হোইবে "he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses পড়িবি "thou

shalt fall," मरिलि "thou diedst," आछिनु "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिलि "thou hast done," पानु "I found," and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.

§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus कातिक करत पुष्कर सनान। गोक्रंन महातम सुनत कान॥ "In Kartik he *performs* ablutions at Puhkar, and *hears* with his ears the glories of Gokarn."—Pr. R. i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translateable jingles of which Chand is so fond धुकंत धार धार सों। बकंत मार मार सों॥ झुकंत झार झार सों। तकंत सार तार सों॥ and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

They thrust with sword-edge biting,
They shout the shout of smiting;
They crouch from weapons sweeping,
They watch the steel blade leaping.

The meaning is clearer in other places. चलत पवन पावक समान। तपखत सुताप मन। सुकत सरोवर मचत कीच। तलफंत मीन तन॥ (Pr. R. lx. 17), "The wind *blows* like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks *dry up*, the mud *is stirred up*, the fishes' bodies *pant*." So in Bihari Lal, मकराकृत गोपाल के कुंडल सोहत कान। धर्यौ मनौ हिय घर समर ड्यौढी लसत निशान॥ "The dolphin-shaped earring *shines* (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love *appears* (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart" (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in ति both as a participle and a present. कहति न देवर की कुवत कुलतिय कलह डराति॥ पंजर

गत मंजार ढिग शुक लौं सूखति जाति ॥ "The virtuous wife *does not repeat* the bad words of her husband's younger brother, *fearing* (ḍarâti) a quarrel, but *dries up* with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage" (Sat. xv.).

In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where मैं घल्दा "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. सक्कर दो रोढी मुंडे कुढी दे मुऊं पाउंदे "They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl."[1]

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with "if" prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say जदि मैं जानिता तो कबही नहीं जाता "Had I known, I never would have gone,"—a similar practice to that of O. and B. mentioned in the last section.

The declinable participle is used in G. as a past habitual, or as a subjunctive aorist, according to the grammarians, so that ऊं छोडतो means "I used to loose," or, "I should loose." In the former sense it is employed in the same way as the old present or aorist ऊं छोडुं. The example given is तमे बराबर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नहीं "you used not to keep a fair share."[2] Most commonly, however, it is used with an auxiliary verb in a variety of meanings, this language being very fertile in the production of compound tenses.

§ 45. The passive past participle in Sanskrit has many forms; the simplest, though least widely used, in the classical language, is, however, that in *ita* (*itas, itâ, itam*), as पतित "fallen." The त of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits द, and in the more common dialects falls out altogether; thus we have हालिदं = हारितं "lost," मुसिदो = मूषितः "robbed," गहिदं = गृहीतं "taken," and many others.

But Var. vii. 32 admits even in Maharashtri the form from

[1] "Panjab Customs," in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.
[2] Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.

which the द् has entirely dropped, and instances हसिअं for हसितं "laughed," पढिअं for पठितं "recited," and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. यौ *m.*, ई *f.*, pl. ए *m.*, ईं *f.*, as जळ्यौ *m.*, जली *f.*, etc., "burnt." Here the य represents the द् of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the ई of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for जळे easily passes into जले.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रह्यौ जोति गय देव थान। "his body *remained* bright, he *went* to the abode of the gods" (i. 299); कर्यौं "done," गयौ "gone," etc. It is, however, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in यौ lasts all through the mediæval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. मार्यौ, pl. मार्या, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मारियो, pl. मारिया.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. मारा *m.*, मारी *f.*; pl. मारे *m.*, मारीं *f.*, "struck."

Panjabi retains the द् of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारिआ *m.*, मारी *f.*; pl. मारे *m.*, मारीआं *f.*, "struck;" so also does Sindhi, sing. हलिओ or हल्यो *m.*, हली *f.*; pl. हल्या *m.*, हलिऊं *f.* Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the य has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the द्. It is rather the द् of द्दो hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-H. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in *i*, as *dekhi*. This is never used alone, but only in composition, with an auxiliary forming a tense. The past participle used to form the passive ends in *á*, like H., as *dekhá jibá* "to be seen."

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. छोड्यो (chhoḍyo) *m.*, छोडी *f.*, छोड्युं (chhoḍyũ) *n.*; pl. छोड्या *m.*, छोडी *f.*, छोड्यां *n.*

G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another

form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is ल. The forms may be brought together for comparison—

G. Sing.	छोडेलो *m.*,	छोडेली *f.*,	छोडेलुं *n.*
M. (neuter) Sing.	सुटला *m.*,	सुटली *f.*,	सुटलें *n.*
„ (active) „	सोडिला *m.*,	सोडिली *f.*,	सोडिलें *n.*
G. Pl.	छोडेला *m.*,	छोडेली *f.*,	छोडेलां *n.*
M. (neuter) Pl.	सुटले *m.*,	सुटल्या *f.*,	सुटलीं *n.*
„ (active) „	सोडिले *m.*,	सोडिल्या *f.*,	सोडिलीं *n.*

B. देखिल, in Old-B. देखिला (only used as a tense combined with *as*), देखिले "having seen."

O. देखिल (the same), देखिले *id.*

The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle मारल, in some districts also मारिला, from which it forms a tense.

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is द्. In G., on the other hand, it is ए, while in the neuter of M. it is *a*. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel *â*; some of these are causals by origin, as पळ "flee," p.p. पळाला, for *paḷâ-ilâ* (as in B. and O. पलाइल). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. *ay*, as उड "fly," p.p. उडाला, Skr. उड्डयित √उद्+डी. Others are denominatives, as दीप "be dazzled," दीपाला, Skr. दीपयित; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel *a*, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in *l* is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in *ita*, through Pr. *ido*, by change of द् to ड, and thence to ल. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as ड and ल are concerned, or as far as त and द् are concerned; but the change from द् to ड is a great stumbling-block. The great authority of Lassen (p. 363) is usually quoted in

support of this view, but even he cannot avoid being struck by the coincidence between this and the Slavonic preterites in *l*.

As regards the change from द् to ड, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus छत becomes in Magadhi कडे (Mṛ. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form कर्त = कट = कड, so that there is no question of a द् at all. So also in वावड for व्यापृत = व्यापर्त = °पट = °पड (Mṛ. 227). The only other instance known to me is गडे for गत (Mṛ. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with कडे = छत. So widespread a form as the modern participle in *l* must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in न or ण may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from √लू "cut," लूनः, from √भिद् "cleave," भिन्नः, and in some roots both forms, that in त and that in न, stand side by side, thus √पॄ "fill," makes पूर्णः and पूर्तः, √नुद् "push," नुन्नः and नुत्तः.

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic *l* of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original *d*, and that again from *t*.[1] If this be so, we have here an ancient change which took place before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the preterite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from *délat'* "to make," pret. sing. diclal' *m.*, dielala *f.* dielalo *n.*, pl. dielali *mfn.*[2] In Servian the same form occurs, *trés* "to shake," has—

Sing. trésao *m.*, trésla *f.*, tréslo *n.*
Pl. trésli *m.*, trésle *f.*, trésla *n.*

[1] Rapp, Verbal-organismus, vol. i. p. 99.
[2] Reiff, Russ. Grammar, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.

Compare Marathi—

Sing.	trâsalâ,	trâsalî,	trâsalê.
Pl.	trâsalc,	trâsalyâ,	trâsalī

from त्रासणें "to trouble." The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic *l* and *n* is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from *nes* "to drag" a pret. past sing. nesén *m.*, neséna *f.*, neseno *n.*, pl. neseny. The same form occurs in the Czech.

But we are getting beyond bounds. The comparison is attractive, and, if there were time to study the Slavonic languages as well as the Indian, might perhaps be worked out to some conclusive result. All that can be said at present is that two groups of the same family have a preterite in *l*, and that there may be some connection between the two; while, on the other hand, the derivation of this preterite from a past participle in *t* seems strained and ill-supported as regards the Indian group, and if true for the Slavonic group, must have occurred a long while ago, before the separation of the families, and has strangely failed to leave any traces of itself in the most important language of the Indian group in its most cultivated stage.

§ 46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no

less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate इ, so that the affix त of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

The verbs given in § 19 have mostly old Tadbhava participles, and it is through these participles that the clue is found to the derivation of the verb. Thus—

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
बज्झ "be bound"	√बंध्	बज्झो (quasi	बंधित	बंधो).
बंध "bind"		बधो	बद्ध	
बुज्झ "be heard"	√बुध्	बुधो	बुद्ध	
बुंध "hear"				
रज्झ "be cooked"	√रंध्	रधो	रद्ध	
रंध "cook"				
लह "get"	√लभ्	लधो	लब्ध	लद्धो
लभ "be got"				
दुज्झ "be milked"	√दुह्	दुधो	दुग्ध	दुद्धो
दुह "milk"				
दुह "torment"	√दह्	दुधो	दग्ध	दद्धो
भज्ज "be broken"	√भञ्ज्	भग्गो	भग्न	भग्गो
भज्ज "break"				
भुज्ज "be fried"	√भ्रज्ज्	भुग्गो	भृष्ट	भुट्ठ (analogy of भज्ज)
भुज्ज "fry"				

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
छिज् "be broken" / छिन "break"	√छिद्	छिन्नो	छिन्न	
सुज्झ् "be heard" / सुण "hear"	√श्रु	सुओ / सुणिओ	श्रुत	(regular modern form)
खण "raise"	√स्कंद्	खंयो	स्कन्न	खणिओ
कुह "kill" / कुस "be killed"	√कुष्	कुठो	कुष्ट	कुट्ठो
गह "rub" / गस "be rubbed"	√घृष्	गठो	घृष्ट	गिट्ठो, गट्ठो
कुह "touch" / कुप "be touched"	√कुंप्	कुतो	कुप्त	कुत्तो

The exact coincidence of these participles with the Sanskrit and Prakrit confirms the derivation of the verbal stems given in § 19. There are many others equally instructive as retaining the Prakrit form; thus, for instance, we can explain the following:

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
लिंब "smear,"	√लिप्	लितो	लिप्त	लित्तो
तप "warm,"	√तप्	ततो	तप्त	तत्तो
सुम्ह "sleep,"	√स्वप्	सुतो	सुप्त	सुत्तो
पा "get,"	√प्राप्	पातो	प्राप्त	पात्तो [?]
आण "bring,"	√आनी	आंदो	आनीत	
रु "weep,"	√रुद्	रुनो	रुदित	रुण्णो

So also the origin of उघण "wipe out," is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उघठो, which leads to Skr. उद्घृष्ट, and then we see that *ughaṇu* is for *ugahaṇu*=*udgharshaṇam*. The participles in *tho* similarly explain themselves, as

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
डिस "see,"	√दृश्	डिठो	दृष्ट	दिट्ठो
वस "rain,"	√वृष्	वठो, वुठो, उठो	वृष्ट	वुट्ठो

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
पिह, पेह "enter,"	√प्रविश्	पेठो	प्रविष्ट	पइट्ठो (H. पैठ)
विह् "sit,"	√उपविश्	वेठो	उपविष्ट	उवइट्ठो (H. बैठ)
पीस "grind,"	√पिष्	पीठो	पिष्ट	पिट्ठो
तुस "be pleased,"	√तुष्	तुठो	तुष्ट	तुट्ठो

The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group:

डिअण् "give," p.p.p. डिनो, Pr. दिण्णो.

करण् "do," ,, कीतो, किओ, कयो, Skr. कृत, Pr. किओ, *see* under II.

मरण् "die," ,, मो, मुओ, Skr. मृत, Pr. मुओ.

Another class is composed of denominatives or neuter verbs with the causal type *âm* (§ 28). These are

Infin.	उभामण् "to boil over,"	p.p.p	उभाणो
,,	उज्झामण् "to be extinguished,"	,,	उज्झाणो
,,	उड्डामण् "to fly,"	,,	उडाणो
,,	झपामण् "to decrease,"	,,	झपाणो
,,	खामण् "to be burnt,"	,,	खाणो
,,	विसामण् "to be extinguished,"	,,	विसाणो
,,	विकामण् "to be sold,"	,,	विकाणो

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: *uḍâmaṇu* is, however, certainly from Skr. *uḍ-ḍî*, p.p.p. *ḍîna; ujhâmaṇu* perhaps from Skr. *ut-kshi*, p.p.p. *kshîṇa; vikâmaṇu* from Skr. *vikrî*, p.p.p., however, not *krîṇa*, but *krîta*. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in *na*, may have been formed the modified p.p. in *no* for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in *âpita*, e.g. *sthâpita*. In

Hindi, also, stems ending in *á* take this p.p. in *no* in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानो, or apocopated *n*, as रिसा p.p. रिसान.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in Trumpp's list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would derive द्राइणु "to satisfy," and द्रापणु "to be satisfied," from Skr. √तृप, तर्पति, but the p.p.p. द्राओ can hardly represent तृप्त. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. जुतो "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. युक्त, Pr. जुत्तो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be *jujaṇu* or *junjaṇu* (Pa. युंजति). Whence then cŏmes it that the infinitive is *jumbaṇu*? So also *rudho* "busily employed" is clearly Skr. रुद्ध (रुध्), one form of the infinitive *rujhaṇu* is regularly derived from Skr. रुध्यते, but what are we to say to another form *rumbhaṇu* or *rubhaṇu*?

Panjabi has several of the same early Tadbhava participles as Sindhi, and a few of its own. The total number, however, is much smaller than in Sindhi. The commonest are

	P.P.	SKR.
करना "do,"	कीता	कृत (dialectically also कीद्).
जाणा "go,"	गिआ, गइआ	गत (also जाया = Skr. यात).
जाणना "know,"	जाता	ज्ञात.
देखणा "see,"	दिट्ठा	दृष्ट (also डिट्ठा *more Sindhico*).
देणा "give,"	दित्ता, दिया	दत्त.
लैणा "take,"	लीता, लिया	लब्धित, instead of classical लब्ध.
वरसणा "rain,"	वट्ठा	वृष्ट.
खाणा "eat,"	खाधा	खादित.
पैणा "fall,"	पिआ	पतित, Sindhi *id.* through पद्ओ.
बंन्हणा "bind,"	बद्धा	बद्ध.
पछाणना "recognize,"	पछाता	परिज्ञात? H. पहिचानना.
सिउणा "sew,"	सीता	सेवित.
सौणा "sleep,"	सुता	सुप्त.

	P.P.	SKR.
पहुंचणा "arrive,"	पहुतो, पुज्जो	?
रिन्हणा "cook,"	रिद्धा	रद्ध.
विअहणा "marry,"	विअहतो	विवाहित.
कहिणा "say,"	किहा	कथित.
रहिणा "remain,"	रिहा	रहित.

In the two last the इ has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and *kihâ*, *rihâ*, are for *kahiâ*, *rahiâ*, respectively. The above list nearly, if not quite, exhausts the early Tadbhava participles of Panjabi, and Hindi influence is already at work in favour of the ordinary type.

§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindhi.

INFIN.		SKR.	PR.
करवुं "do"	कर्यो, कीधो	कृत	करिओ
लेवुं "take"	लीधो	लब्ध	
पोहोचवुं "arrive"	पोहोंच्यो, पोहोतो	?	
देखवुं "see"	दिठो, दीठो	दृष्ट	
बीहोवुं "fear"	बीहीनो, बीहीधो	भीत	बिहिदो (§ 13)
खावुं "eat"	खाधो	खादित	
उपजवुं "produce"	उपनो °न्यो	उत्पन्न (present *utpadyate*)	
नीपजवुं „	नीपनो °न्यो	निष्पन्न (pres. *nishpadyate*)	
पीवुं "drink"	पीधो	पीत	
सुवुं "sleep"	सुतो	सुप्त	
मरवुं "die"	मुओ	मृत	
देवुं "give"	दीधो	दत्त	
बेशवुं "sit"	बेठो	उपविष्ट	
पेशवुं "enter"	पेठो	प्रविष्ट	
नासवुं "flee"	नाठो	नष्ट (present *naśyati*)	
जवुं "go"	गओ	गत	

In the instances of *kîdho, bîhîdho, khâdho, pîdho,* and *dîdho,* we have probably formations based on the analogy of *lîdho,* for the exception of *bîhîdho,* which may owe its *dh* to a combination of the *h* and *d* of Pr. *vihido,* there is no older form which would yield *dh.* The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

So far does the original meaning of these participles appear to have been obscured, that from them a participle ending in *elo* is also formed, and they say *kîdhelo, dîṭhelo,* and the like, where the participial element occurs twice. The ordinary verb having two forms of participle, one in *yo,* the other in *elo,* the verbs in the above list were bound to have them also, and instead of adding *elo* to the stem, and making *karelo, lîelo,* it has been added to the already formed early Tadbhava participle.

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in *elo* being somewhat more emphatic than that in *yo.* Thus હું આવ્યો છું "I am come," but હું આવેલો છું "I *am* come," (emphatically).

Marathi has early Tadbhava participles, and it has others, which are accounted irregular by the grammarians from other causes. The former are not numerous, and are chiefly found in the same stems as in the other languages. Thus we have—

जा "go,"	p.p.p.	गेला
ये "come,"	„	आला
मर "die,"	„	मेला
ले "take" (wear),	„	ल्याला
कर "do,"	„	केला

Stems ending in ण exhibit ट in the participle, as

खण "dig,"	p.p.p.	खटला
म्हण "speak,"	„	म्हटला
हाण "slay,"	„	हाटला

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. √ खन् "dig" forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the न being changed to ण in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खणित would be legitimately formed, whence खण्ट, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination ला, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खटला. So also √भण्, p.p.p. भणित, whence भण्ट and म्हट + ला. Skr. हन् has p.p.p. हत, but a Pr. form हणित would be, and is, used, whence हण्ट, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हाट + ला.

To a similar retention of the त of the Skr. p.p.p. may be attributed the following, though the etymology is in some cases very obscure:

घे "take,"	घेतला "taken."
धू "washed,"	धुतला "washed."
बघ "see,"	बघितला "seen."
माग "ask,"	मागितला "asked."
सांग "tell,"	सांगितला "told."
घाल "put,"	घातला "put."
खा "eat,"	खाल्ला "eaten."

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts त्त in forms like *ghettum*, *ghettûna*, which may be a retention of त in *grihîta*. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. *kidhelo*, etc. The origin of घाल् is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of घे take. In खा the p.p. is apparently a contraction of खादिला, Skr. खादित.

§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

करना "do,"	किया "done."
मरना "die,"	मुआ "dead."
लेना "take,"	लिया "taken."
देना "give,"	दिया "given."
जाना "go,"	गया "gone."

All the other verbs in the language form this participle from the common stem used in all the other tenses, though in the mediæval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as *diṭṭhau* "seen," *tuṭṭhau* "pleased," (*tushṭa*) in Chand. The three verbs *kar*, *le*, and *de*, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-H., and in the mediæval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms:

कर has i. कीयौ or कियौ. ii. कीनौ or किन्नौ. iii. कीधौ or किद्धौ.
दे „ i. दीयौ or दियौ. ii. दीनौ or दिन्नौ. iii. दीधौ or दिद्धौ.
ले „ i. लीयौ or लियौ. ii. लीनौ or लिन्नौ. iii. लीधौ or लिद्धौ.

The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For *kiyau* is properly the participle of *kar*, Skr. कृत, Pr. किदो and कियो. It has been borrowed by *le* and *de*. So *dinau* belongs to *de*, Skr. दत्त, Pa. and Pr. दिण्णो, and has been borrowed by *kar* and *le*. Also *lidhau* belongs to *le*, Skr. लब्ध, Pa. and Pr. लद्धो, and has been borrowed by *kar* and *de*. We cannot get *kinau* or *kidhau* phonetically from √ कृ, nor *diyau* and *didhau* from √ दा, nor *liyau* and *linau* from √ लभ्, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with

our oldest author, Chand, कियौ, लियौ, and दियौ, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. कन्या कियौ क्रंदोह ॥ "The girl *made* lamentation" (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कीयौ तब चित चिहौं दिस ॥

"He then *made* reflection on all sides."—xx. 20.

कीयौ चलन कौ साज ॥

"He *made* preparation for going."—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as दीय and कीय in

गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय ॥
पूरव दिस तन गमन कीय ॥

"He *entrusted* the fort to the castellan,
Made a going to the eastern country."—xx. 29.

लीये सब बोलि वंव वज्जिय ॥

"*Took* all shouting and playing on drums."—*ib.*

A form with *a* occurs for *le* and *de* only, as लयौ विप्र गुर बोल ॥ "*Took* Brahmins and gurus, saying" (*ib.* 20), and दई जु कन्या वचन वर ॥ "When the maiden *gave* her troth to the bridegroom" (*ib.* 22).

Commonest by far is the second form with either long or short vowel, in the latter case generally with doubling of the following consonant, and very frequently with the last vowel apocopated. Of these types that with the double consonant is nearest to the Prakrit, and thus presumably the oldest, the rejection of one consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel is a later feature. In Chand, however, there is no distinction between the two; so that one rhymes with the other, as in

गेर महल प्रिथिराज सषी सबका रम दिन्नव ॥
कुसम पटा सिर पाग लाग कंद्रप रस कीनव ॥

"In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,
In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love."
—xxi. 22.

So also लूटि धरतो निधि लिन्नव "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with किन्नव. (In Hindi *av* = *au*, so *kinnav* is to be read *kinnau*, etc.)

विहसित वरं लगन लिन्नौ नरिंद ॥

"Smiling the king accepted the espousal."—xx. 23.

सहस घट्ट सिव उपर कीनौ ॥
तीन उपास नेम तव लीनौ ॥

"He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Siva,
Then he took a vow to fast three (days)."—i. 189.

See also the quotation at p. 268 of Vol. II.

Instances of the apocopated form occur chiefly at the end of a line; as

दस कोस जाय मुक्काम कीन ॥
विच गांम नगर पुर लूट लीन ॥

"Having gone ten *kos* he made a halt,
Villages and towns between he plundered."—i. 208.

परिमाल जुद्ध पर हुकम दीन ॥

"Parimal gave the order for fighting."—xxi. 5.

The third form is more frequently found with *de*, to which it least of all belongs, and has an additional termination *iya* sometimes attached to it, as

दान मान घन दिद्धिय

"He gave gifts and honours abundant."—i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with लद्धिय, which ought perhaps to be read लिद्धिय "having taken."

There is an instance of the natural change into the palatal in

सगरी नाव जाय बंध किज्जिय ॥
आल्हा उदल उतरन न दिज्जिय ॥

"Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Âlhâ and Udal he suffered not to alight."—xxi. 86.

for किद्दौ and दिद्दौ respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

बर दीधौ ढुंढा नरिद ॥

"Dhundhâ gave a blessing to the king."—i. 305.

प्रिथिराज ताहि दो देस दिद्द ॥

"Prithirâj gave him two provinces."—*ib.* 307.

All three types may be found repeatedly throughout the poem. In later times, as in Tulsi Das and in Braj poetry generally, these verbs take the forms लीन्हौ, कीन्हौ, and दीन्हौ, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das—

एहि विधि दाह किया सब कीन्ही ॥
विधिवत न्हाइ तिलांजुलि दीन्ही ॥

"In this way he performed all the ceremony of cremation,
Having duly bathed, he presented the offering of sesamum."
—Ay-k. 894.

मोहि उपदेस दीन्ह गुर नीका ॥

"The *guru* hath given me good advice."—*ib.* 928.

तौ कत लीन्ह संग कटकाइ ॥

"Then why has he taken an army with him?"—*ib.* 982.

The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for O. मला and कला are merely contractions of मरिला and करिला, from मर "die," and कर "do," respectively. From जा "go," O. गला, B. गेल, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.

§ 49. The participial tenses formed from the past participle are analogous to those from the present. In ordinary Hindi the participle itself is used as a past tense, without any relic of the substantive verb; it will have been noticed that in all the passages quoted in the last section, the participle must be translated as a preterite, and this is the case in the modern language,

both for active and neuter verbs, as *bolâ* "he said," *kiyâ* "he did." In the mediæval poets, however, and to this day in the rustic dialects of Oudh and the eastern Hindi area, there exists a preterite with terminations retaining traces of the incorporation of the old substantive verb. Before these terminations the long *â* and *î* of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by *e*. Thus we have (*mâr* "strike")—

SING.	1.	2.	3.	PL.	1.	2.	3.
m.	मारउं	मारउ	मारउ		मारेन्हि	मारेऊ	मारेन्हि
f.	मारिउं	मारिउ	मारिउ		मारिन्हि	मारिऊ	मारिन्हि

Also in *m.* मारेउं, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable सि is often added, as मारेसि, and variated into हि, as मारेहि *m.*, मारिसि, मारिहि *f.* Thus चलेउ हरषि हिय धरि रघुनाथा "he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunâtha" (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), देखेउं नयन राम कर दूता "I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram" (*ib.* 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all,—पुनि परीहरेउ सुखाने उ पर्णा ॥ "Again *she gave up* even dry leaves" (Bal-k. 155), पूछेसि लोगन काह उछाह ॥ "She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?" (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिष दीन्हिउ तोहि ॥ "The flatteress has given instruction to (has prompted) thee" (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in *si*, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. *asi*; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundara-kânḍa of Tulsi's work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खाएसि फल अरु बिटप उपारे "He *eats* the fruit, and tears up the bushes" (S-k. 40), कछु मारेसि कछु मर्देसि कछुक मिलायेसि धुरी ॥ "Some he *slew*, some he *trampled* under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust," कह लंकेश कवन तैं

कीसा । केहि के बल घालेसि बन खीसा । कीधौ श्रवण सुनेसि नहिं मोहि । . . . . मारेसि निशिचर केहि श्रयराधा । "Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength *hast thou torn* to pieces the forest, *hast thou* never *heard* of my fame, . . . for what fault *hast thou killed* the demons?" (*ib.*) Panjabi throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as *maĩ, tû, uh mâriâ*, "I, thou, he, smote." Indeed, to such an extent in H. and P. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say "smitten," we must not use H. *mârâ* or P. *mâriâ* alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. *mârâ hûâ*, P. *mâriâ hoĩâ*. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as कीतोस "he did," which is probably to be referred to S. कृतोऽस्ति. The grammarians, however, suppose that *kîtos* is in some way a metathesis of *us ne kîta*, so that *kitâ*+*us*=*kitos*. The instrumental, however, of *uh* "he," is not *us ne*, but *un*; *us ne* is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as खांदसां, which is evidently *khânde*+*'sã*, for *asâ*=*asmaḥ*.

Different from modern, but strikingly similar to mediæval, Hindi in this respect is Sindhi, which does not employ the participle singly as a preterite, but, except in the 3 sing. and pl., has relics of the substantive verb incorporated with it, thus (*hal* "go")—

SING.	1.	2.	3.	PL.	1.	2.	3.
m.	हलिउसि	हलिएं	हलिश्रो		हलिश्रासीं	हलिश्रउ	हलिश्रा
f.	हलिश्रसि	हलिश्रं	हली		हलिऊंसीं	हलिऊं	हलिऊं

By comparing these terminations with those of the S. future,

which is based upon the present participle (§ 41), it will be seen that they are absolutely identical, thus:

halandu -si	corresponds to	haliu -si.
halandia -si	,,	halia -si.
halandâ -sĩ	,,	haliâ -sĩ.
halandiû -sĩ	,,	haliũ -sĩ.
etc.		etc.

and the terminations may, in the case of the preterite, therefore, as well as in that of the future, be referred to the old Skr. verb *as* in various degrees of decay.

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and the preterite; to its p.p. in ला *m.*, ली *f.*, लें *n.*, etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p. in ता *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.*, etc. Thus

Sing.	1.	सुटलों *m.*,	सुटलें *f.*,	सुटलों *n.*
	2.	सुटलास *m.*,	°लीस *f.*,	°लेंस *n.*
	3.	सुटला *m.*,	°ली *f.*,	°लें *n.*
Pl.	1.	सुटलों *m. f. n.*		
	2.	सुटलां *id.*		
	3.	सुटले *m.*	°ल्या *f.*	°लीं *n.*

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to § 42. There is no conditional as in the present. When it desires to use this form in an adjectival sense, M., having apparently forgotten its originally participial nature, adds another एला, thus we get मेलेलें जनावर "a dead animal," केलेला पुरुष "a made (*i.e.* experienced) man." The fact so well established for S. and M. may help us to understand, if we cannot fully explain, the preterites of O. and B., which are formed in the same way. From a p.p. देखिल, O. constructs a preterite, thus—

Sing.	1. देखिलि	2. देखिलु	3. देखिला,
Pl.	1. देखिलुं	2. देखिल	3. देखिले,

where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

Bengali does the same (*pace* the Pandits), as—

Sing.	1. देखिनु	2. देखिलि	3. देखिल.
Pl.	1. देखिलाम	2. देखिला	3. देखिलेन.

Here the 3 sing. has also देखिलेक् with a final क, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in *nu* is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as अपरूप पेखनु रामा "*I saw* the fair one looking woe-begone" (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read पेखिनु.

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in *yo* and that in *elo*, but more frequently a modern substantive verb is added for greater clearness. This language has no traces of the old incorporated Sanskrit *as*.

§ 50. In the past tenses of all but B. and O. the *prayogas* or constructions mentioned in Vol. II. p. 264, are employed. In most of the languages, indeed, their use is restricted to the past tenses. The direct or *kartâ prayoga* is used with neuter verbs, and requires the subject to be in the nominative case, while the participle, which does duty for a preterite, changes with the gender of the speaker. Thus

H.	वह बोला "he spoke,"	वे बोले "those men spoke."
	वह बोली "she spoke,"	वे बोलीं "those women spoke."

So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms:

तो म्हटला "he said,"	ते म्हटले "illi dixerunt."
ती म्हटली "she said,"	त्या म्हटल्या "illæ dixerunt."
तें म्हटलें "it said,"	तीं म्हटलीं "illa dixerunt."

And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no

distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In the active verb, however, the *karma* or objective construction is used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H. मैं ने तुम से बडे कठोर वचन कहे हैं "I have spoken very harsh words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject *maĩ ne* is in the instrumental, the verb *kahe haĩ* is masc. plural, to agree with the object *vachan*. दैव ने वैसा ही जोग मिला दिया (*ib.* 39) "Destiny has joined just such a joining" (has brought about such a marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in both numbers so as to agree with the object, as त्यानें पोथी वाचिली "he read the book," where *vâchili* is fem. sing., to agree with *pothi*. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or *kartâ* when the verb is used as a neuter, objective or *karma* when it is used as an active. So also in G. The distinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not be more than mentioned here.

There is also a third or impersonal construction technically known as *bhâva*, in which the object is not expressed, and the verb, therefore, remains always in the neuter. In M., however, this construction is used even when the object is expressed, as त्यानें त्याला मारिलें "he beat him," literally "by him to him beaten."

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तव्य, plays an important part in the modern verb in some languages. It does not, like the two previously noticed participles, form modern participles, but rather various kinds of verbal nouns, such as in Latin grammar we are familiar with under the names of gerunds and supines, also the infinitive. The Latin gerund itself is, however, closely allied to the participle of the future passive, for *amandi, amando, amandum*, are

respectively the genitive, dative, and accusative of *amandus*. There is, therefore, a participial nature inherent in these forms which justifies their inclusion in the present chapter. The Skr. *tavya* becomes in Pr. *davva*, and with elision of the *d*, *avva*. Thus Skr. बोधितव्य, Pr. बोधिदव्व, बोधिअव्व. So also Pr. करिदव्व, करिअव्व, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form करितव्य rather than to the classical form कर्त्तव्य, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate इ, but treats all verbs alike, as if that letter were inserted, and it naturally gives the type to its modern descendants in all cases.

The treatment of the form so inherited from the Prakrit differs in the various languages, both in form and meaning.

Sindhi uses it as a present passive participle ending in *ibo*, Pr. करिअव्वो, losing the *a* and the first *v* of the suffix, becomes करिवो, meaning "being done." The transition from the original sense of "that which is to be (or must be) done," into "that which is being done," is simple and natural. Examples are—

वुसाटणु "to choke,"	वुसाटिवो "being choked."
ड़ोहणु "to cheat,"	ड़ोहिवो "being cheated."
झलणु "to seize."	झलिवो "being seized."[1]

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the इ and retaining the अ, thus making करवो "being done," as छोडवो *m.*, वी *f.*, वुं *n.*, etc., "being loosed;" लाववो, however, means "bringing," where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as जवुं "to go," of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the *vv* is lengthened, and one *v* rejected, giving a form करावें, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

[1] Trumpp, p. 54.

examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the same as in the older languages, "that which has to be done," it is used in constructions where it implies "the doing" of a thing only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in the genitive and dative cases करावयाचें and करावयास, or करायास. Thus तें मी करावयास सिद्ध आहे "I am ready to do that" (*i.e.* "to the doing of"), आपणासीं कांही बोलावयाचें आहें "I have something to say to you," *i.e.* "with you something of that which must be said I am." Thus it approximates somewhat to the infinitive of G., as in the following passage:

न करावा संग । वाटे दुरावावें जग ॥
सेवावा एकांत । वाटे न बोलावी मात ॥
जन धन तन । वाटे लेखावें वमन ॥

"It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world;
It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all;
People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit."
—Tukaram. Abh. 1885.

Here *vâṭe* (Skr. वर्त्तते) means "it seems," *i.e.* "it seems proper," like Latin decet, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus *sanga* and *ekânta* being masc., the participles are masc. *karâvâ* and *sevâvâ*; *mât* (Skr. मात्रा) being fem., *bolâvi* is fem. also; *jag*, *vaman* neut., hence *durâvâveṇ*, *lekhâveṇ* neut. The original meaning of a passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence to be "society is not to be made . . . this seems proper," which is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the व sometimes drops out, and they say, for instance, आम्हास देशांतरीं जायाचें पडेल "We shall have to go to another country," for जावया', literally "to us in another country *of going* it will fall." Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis eundum erit, or Skr. *gantavyam asti*.

Panjabi has apparently no trace left of this participle, nor

has classical Hindi, but in rustic Hindi, especially in the eastern parts of its area, as well as in Bengali and Oriya, this participle exists. In Bhojpuri it ends in वे or बे, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as सुनवे न कैलन *sunbe na kailan*, "they did not make *a hearing*," *i.e.* "they would not listen," मानिवे न करिहैं *mānve na karihaĩ*, "they will not make *an obeying*," *i.e.* "they will not obey."[1] It is more emphatic than a simple preterite or future, and implies that the persons referred to obstinately refused to hear or obey.

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. देखिबा "to see," genitive देखिबार "of seeing," etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. भण्ड गीत शुणिबा दोष अटे गाइबा त पाप "the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime" (see § 74).

§ 52. The tenses formed from this participle come next to be considered. In Sindhi the old substantive verb is incorporated, just as in the tenses derived from the present and past participles, but it is used to form a future passive from active verbs only, as (*chhaḍ* "abandon"), "I shall be abandoned," etc.

Sing.	*m.*	1. छड़िबुसि	2. छड़िबें	3. छड़िबो
	f.	1. छड़िबिअसि	2. छड़िबिअं	3. छड़िबी
Pl.	*m.*	1. छड़िबासीं	2. छड़िबउ	3. छड़िबा
	f.	1. छड़िबिऊंसीं	2. छड़िबिऊं	3. छड़िबिऊं

Here the terminations are precisely identical in every respect with those of the active future and preterite, exhibited in the preceding sections.

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

[1] Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.

gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or *karma*, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or में छोडवो "I ought to release," *i.e.* "by me it is to be released," तोरे or तें वीश्वाश करवो "you ought to have confidence," *i.e.* "by thee trust is to be made," Skr. त्वया विश्वासः कर्त्तव्यः.

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as छोडवानो *m.*, नी *f.*, नुं *n.* The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus जे काम अमारे करवानुं "the work which we ought to do." I am not altogether satisfied, however, with the explanation of this tense as the genitive of the above participle, and would suggest that it may possibly be derived from the Âtmane. pres. part. in *mâna*, like *bhavamâna*. It is possible, I think, that though the Âtmanepada has dropped out of use at an early epoch, yet that this participle, not being specially recognized as belonging to that phase of the verb, may, in some dialects, have held its own. From the want of documents of the intermediate period, however, the question is one which must remain, for the present at least, obscure.

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or *kartâ* construction, also the *bhâva* or impersonal; the active uses the *karma* and *bhâva*. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated

for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (*sut* "escape")—

Sing. *m.* 1.	सुतावा	2. °वास	3. °वा	Pl. 1.	°वे	2. °वेत	3. °वे
f.	सुटावी	°वीस	°वी		°व्या	°व्यात	°व्या
n.	सुटावें	°वेंस	°वें		°वीं	°वींत	°वीं

The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final *t* recalls the termination of the 2 plural of the Sanskrit optative.

In the active verb with the *karma* construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus म्यां, तूं or त्यानें सोडावा -वी -वें, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the *bhâva* construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुटावें or सोडावें.

Stevenson (p. 101) distinguishes no less than fourteen different senses of this tense, but the distinctions seem somewhat too finely drawn, and belong rather to the department of conventional usage than to that which deals with the organism and structure of the language.

With a short *a* preceding the characteristic व, which is all that remains of the participial ending, M. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus (*soḍ* "loose")—

Aorist (Past habitual)	मला सोडवे	"I used to be able to loose" (rare),
Present	,, सोडवतें	"I can loose,"
Preterite	,, सोडवलें	"I could loose" (rare),
Future	,, सोडवेल	"I shall be able to loose,"
Imperfect	,, सोडवत होतें	"I could have loosed,"
Pluperfect	,, सोडवलें होतें	"I had been able to have loosed,"

and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The construction is the Bhâva or impersonal throughout, showing that the form originates from the participle, and is to be literally rendered "by me to be loosed it is, or was," which accounts for the neuter form being used.

§ 53. It is to this place that I would now refer the *ba* type of the future as used in B. and O., and in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi. It has been usual to compare these tenses with the Latin futuro in *bo*, as *amabo*, and the comparison is tempting, but, as I now think, delusive. It rests upon the supposition that the *b* of the termination represents the substantive verb *bhú*; but to this there are the seemingly fatal objections that *bhú*, in its modified form of *bhava*, had from very early times become *ho*, losing its labial element altogether, and that the present tense *bhavâmi*, etc., though much changed and worn away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel *o*, sometimes shortened to *u* or resolved into *ua*. It is only when an *i* follows the *o*, that the combination *oï* is at times shortened to *e*, as in O. *hebâ*=hoïbâ.

Judging by the analogy of the cognate languages, it seems that we ought now to see in the B. and O. future the Skr. participle in *tavya*, in combination with the present tense of √*as*. The forms are (*dekh*, "see")—

B.	Sing.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबि	3. देखिबे °बेक्
O.	„	1. देखिबि	2. देखिबु	3. देखिब
Bhojpuri.	„	1. देखब्	2. देखब	3. देखी
B.	Pl.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबा °बे	3. देखिबेन
O.	„	1. देखिबुं °बा	2. देखिब	3. देखिबे
Bhojpuri.	„	1. देखब्	2. देखब	3. देखिहीं

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this

group, as they belong to the *sa* or *ha* type of the future (§ 35). The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the *ba* type, as 2 sing. मारिबेस, 1 pl. मारिब, मारब, and मारिबै, 2 pl. मारिबा. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मारबूं, 2 मारबेस, मारबे, 1 pl. मारब, 2 मारबो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारब *mârab* is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the *ba* type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or O. terminations of the future with those of the tenses formed by those languages from the present and past participles respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical. Thus O.—

		PRESENT.	PAST.	FUTURE.
Sing.	1.	dekhant -*i*	dekhil -*i*	dekhib -*i*
	2.	dekhant -*u*	dekhil -*u*	dekhib -*u*
	3.	dekhant -*á*	dekhil -*á*	dekhib -*á*
Pl.	1.	dekhant -*á*	dekhil -*á*	dekhib -*á*
	2.	dekhant -*a*	dekhil -*a*	dekhib -*a*
	3.	dekhant -*e*	dekhil -*e*	dekhib -*e*

As the analogy of the other languages compels us to see in these terminations abraded fragments of the present tense of *as*, when combined with the present and past participles, the same process of reasoning leads us to see the same element in combination with the future participle, and the 2 sing. of the Riwâ and Avadhi dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic *s* of the Skr. 2 sing. *asi*. There is the same agreement of the final vowel in these three tenses of the B. verb, though it is not so accurately preserved as in the more archaic Oriya. Thus B. *dekhib-a* does not correspond with *dekhit-âm*, and *dekhil-âm*. So, also, B. *dekhit-is* differs from *dekhil-i* and *dekhib-i*. There is, however, sufficient general similarity, and the differences consist

mostly in this, that one tense has preserved a more archaic form than the other, thus *dekhitâm* preserves Skr. *asmi*, Pr. *amhi*, better than *dekhiba*, *dekhitis* preserves the *s* of *asi*, while *dekhili* and *dekhibi* have rejected it. Thus, while the abrasion of the substantive verb has been carried to so great a pitch in these two languages as almost to obliterate all traces of it, yet, from the general analogy of cognate forms, there is little doubt that we have in the *ba* future the Skr. participle in *tavya*. The final *k* in the 3 sing. of B. is a phenomenon for which I have in vain sought an explanation; the most probable one is, I think, that which considers it merely as a *tag*, or meaningless addition, but why a tag should have been added to this person merely, and not to others also, remains to be explained.

§ 54. The two remaining types of the future may appropriately be introduced here. They are certainly participial tenses, though not participial in the same sense or on the same plan as the other tenses discussed in this chapter; they are, in fact, exactly the reverse. Whereas, in the other participial tenses, it is the modern stem which is the participle, and the ancient verbal additions are a present tense, in the two types of future, which we shall now examine, the modern stem is a present tense, and the ancient verbal addition is a participle.

The first of the two is the *ga* type. This consists in adding H. sing. गा *m.*, गी *f.*, pl. गे *m.*, गीं *f.*, to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. *f.*, which is गीआं. In the pl. *f.* H. also ordinarily drops the anuswâra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (*sun* "hear"), "I will hear," etc.

H. Sing.	1. सुनूंगा	2. सुनेगा	3. सुनेगा
„ Pl.	1. सुनेंगे	2. सुनोगे	3. सुनेंगे
P. Sing.	1. सुणांगा	2. सुणेंगा	3. सुणेगा
„ Pl.	1. सुणांगे	2. सुणोगे	3. सुणनगे

If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables *gâ*, *gi*, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as *haigâ*, for *hai* "it is." There can be little doubt that this *gâ* is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गदो, गयो, गओ. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of *jânâ* "to go," is *gayâ m.*, and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to *gâ*. The *f.* is गई *gaî*, which easily becomes गी, so also pl. *m.* गए becomes गे. The meaning of the tense is thus, "I have gone (that) I may do," a construction which recalls our English idiom "I am going to do," and French "je vais faire." The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

This type seems to be of late origin. It is not much, if at all, known or used by the early writers, who, except when they use the future of the *ba* type, generally express a future sense by the aorist only. As this method grew by degrees to be felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater distinctness.

§ 55. The second type is that which has *l* for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwâri dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researches of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwâl, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the

plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the *la* type (*paṛ* "fall," *mâr* "strike," *ho* "be," *suṭ, soḍ*).

SINGULAR.

Marwâri.		1. पड़ूंलो	2. पड़ैलो	3. पड़ैलो
Gaṛhwâli.		1. मारलो	2. मारिल्यो	3. मारलो
Kumaoni.		1. मारूंलो	2. मारेलो	3. मारलो
Nepali.		1. हुंला	2. होलास	3. होला
Marâthi.	neuter.	1. सुटेन	2. सुटसील	3. सुटेल
	active.	1. सोडीन	2. सोडिसील	3. सोडील

PLURAL.

Marwâri.		1. पड़ांला	2. पड़ोला	3. पड़ैला
Gaṛhwâli.		1. मारला	2. मरिल्या	3. मारला
Kumaoni.		1. मारूंला	2. मारला	3. मारला
Nepali.		1. हौंला	2. हौला	3. ह्नन्
Marâthi.	neuter.	1. सुटूं	2. सुटाल	3. सुटतील
	active.	1. सोडूं	2. सोडाल	3. सोडितील

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form लो sing. and ला pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. *gá, ge*, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the *la* itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is सुटें, and adding ल to this, we get सुटेंल, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सुटेन. In the 1 pl., however, the ल has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सुटस, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सुटसि, and सुटसि + ल =

सुटसील, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl.(aorist सुटां) the ल has neither been fused with the anuswâra into न, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anuswâra; the reason of this is that the anuswâra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply *á*, as सुटा, and it is to this that the ल has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सुटे + ल = सुटेल, and (archaic) सुटती + ल = सुटतील. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this ल as the shortened form of a sing. लो *m.*, ली *f.*, pl. ला *m.*, लीं *f.*, of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. √लग्, p.p.p. लग्न, Pr. लग्गो, of which the *gg* has been reduced to *g* according to ordinary practice, and the single *g* has then dropped out, leaving लओ, shortened into लो. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do any thing, as in H. करने लगा, "he began to do." In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटेल appropriately means "he begins (that) he may do," in other words "he is about to do," "he will do."

§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.

I.—Present Participle Active.

Sanskrit पचन् *m.*, पचन्ती *f.*, पचत् *n.* Prakrit पचंतो *m.*, °ती *f.*, °तं *n.*

	Hindi.	Panjabi.	Sindhi.		Gujarati.	Marathi.		Oriya.	Bangali.
			Neuter.	*Active.*		*Neuter.*	*Active.*		
Participle.	देखता °ती	1. जांदा °दी °दे °दीआं	हलंदो °दी	भरींदो °दी	छोडतो °ती °तुं	सुटता °ती °तें	सोडिता °ती °तें		
(a) *declinable.*	°ते °तीं	2. मारदा °दी, etc.	°दा °दिउं	°दा °दिउं	°ता °ती °तां	°ते °त्या °तीं	°ते °त्या °तीं	,,	,,
(b) *indeclinable.*	देखंत देखत	,,	,,	,,	छोडतां °ते	सुटत °तां °तांना	सोडीत °तां °तांना	देखु °खुं	देखिते
Present (Future, etc.) Tense. S. 1.	देखता °ती	मारदा °दी	हलंदुसि °दिआसि	भरींदुसि, etc.	छोडतो °ती °तुं	सुटतों[1]	सोडितों	देखंति	देखिताम
2.			हलंदें °दिअ	भरींदें °दिअ		सुटतोस सुटतास	सोडितोस सोडितास	देखंतु	देखितिस
3.			हलंदो °दी	भरींदो °दी		सुटतो सुटता	सोडितो सोडिता	देखंता	देखित
Pl. 1.	देखते °तीं	मारदे °दीआं	हलंदासीं °बूसीं	भरींदासीं, etc.	छोडता °ती °तां	सुटतों	सोडितों	देखंतुं	देखिताम
2.			हलंदउ °बूं	भरींदउ °बूं		सुटतां	साडितां	देखंत	देखिता
3.			हलंदा °बूं	भरींदा °बूं		सुटतात सुटते	सोडितात सोडिते	देखंते	देखितेन

[1] On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculines only of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.

II.—Past Participle Passive.

Sanskrit कृतस् *m.*, कृता *f.*, कृतं *n.* Prakrit करिओ *m.*, करी *f.*, करिअं *n.*

		HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.		ORIYA.	BANGALI.
Participle.		मारा °री °रे °रीं	मारिआ °री °रे °रीआं	हल्यो °ली °ल्या °ल्यूं	छोड्यो °डी °ड्युं °ड्या °डी °ड्यां and छोडेलो, etc.	सुटला °ली °लें °ले °ल्या °लीं	सोडिला °ली °लें °ले °ल्या °लीं	देखिल	देखिल
Past Tense.	S. 1.	मारा °री	मारिआ °ई	हलिउसि °असि हलिएं °इअं हल्यो °ई	छोड्यो °डी °ड्युं छोडेलो °ली °लुं	सुटलों °लें °लों सुटलास °लीस °लेंस सुटला °ली °लें	सोडिला °ली °लें	देखिलि देखिलु देखिला	देखिनु देखिलि देखिल
	Pl. 1.	मारे °रीं	मारे °ईआं	हलिआसीं, etc. हलिअउ °यूं हलिआ °यूं	छोड्या °डी °ड्यां छोडेला °ली °लां	सुटलों सुटलां सुटले °ल्या °लीं	सोडिले °ल्यालीं	देखिलु देखिल देखिले	देखिलाम देखिला देखिलेन

III.—Future Participle Passive.

Sanskrit बोधितव्यस् *m.*, °व्या *f.*, °व्यं *n.* Prakrit बोधिदव्व, बोधिअव्व.

	HINDI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.		ORIYA.	BANGALI.
Participle (Infinitive, etc.).	सुनवे मानिवे	छड़बो °बी °बा °ब्यूं	छोडवो °वी °वुं °वा °वी °वां	सुटावा °वी °वें °वे °व्या °वीं	सोडावा °वी °वें °वे °व्या °वीं	देखिवा	देखिबा
	(Bhojpuri.)						
S. 1.	देखब्[1]	छड़िबुसि[2]		सुटावा[2]		देखिबि	देखिब
2.	देखब	छड़िबें		सुटावास		देखिबु	देखिबि
3.	*deest*	छड़िबो	छोडवो, etc.	सुटावा	सोडावा °वी °वें	देखिब	देखिबे °बक्
Pl. 1.	देखब्	छड़िबासीं	छोडवानो, etc.	सुटावे		देखिबु °बा	देखिब
2.	देखब	छड़िबउ		सुटवेत		देखिब	देखिबा °बे
3.	*deest*	छड़िबा		सुटावे		देखिबे	देखिबेन

[1] See other dialectic forms in § 53.

[2] Only the masculine is given from want of space.

§ 57. The only participial tenses in the Gipsy verb are those formed from the past participle. This participle is sometimes regularly formed from the modern verbal root, and sometimes, as in the other languages, is an early Tadbhava, perpetuating the type of the Prakrit participle.

There are, as in the other languages, three types of this participle ending in (1) *to* or *do*, (2) *lo*, (3) *no*. Examples of the first type are—

anâva "to carry,"	ando,	Skr. ânî,		p.p.p.	ânîta, S. ândo.
jivâva "to live,	jivdo,	,,	jîv,	,,	jîvita.
kerâva "to do,"	kerdo,	,,	kṛi,	,,	kṛita, Pers. karda.
nashâva "to depart,"	nashto,	,,	naç,	,,	nashṭa.
chinâva "to cut,"	chindo,	,,	chhid,	,,	chhinna.

Of the second type—

avâva "to come,"	alo,	,,	âyâ,	,,	âyâta, M. âlâ, B. O. âila.
jâva "to go,"	gelo,	,,	yâ,	,,	yâta, M. gelâ, B. gela, O. galâ.
dikâva "to see,"	diklo,				B. dekhila, O. dekhilâ.

Of the third type—

dâva "to give,"	dino,	,,	dâ,	,,	datta, Pr. diṇṇo, O.-H. dinnâ, dînâ
lâva "to take,"	lino,	,,	labh,	,,	labdha, O.-H. linnâ, lînâ.
rovâva "to weep,"	rovno,	,,	rud,	,,	rudita, Pr. ruṇṇo, S. runo.
uryâva "to fly,"	uryano,	,,	uḍḍî,	,,	uḍḍîna, S. uḍâṇo.

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from *lino* "taken"—

Sing.	1. linom,	2. linân,	3. linâs,
Pl.	1. linân,	2. linân,	3. linâs "I took," etc.

So from *kerdo* "done," comes

Sing. 1. kerdom, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs,
Pl. 1. kerdâm, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs "I did," etc.

And from *muklo* "abandoned" (Skr. mukta)—

Sing. 1. muklom, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs,
Pl. 1. muklâm, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs "I left," etc.

This proceeding is strictly analogous in principle to the method employed in Sindhi, to which, of all the Indian languages, that of the Gipsies bears the closest relation.

The future is formed by prefixing to the present tense the word kâma, Skr. kâm "desire," and thus means "I wish to do," etc. Thus kerâva "I do," kamakerâva "I will do," *i.e.* "I wish to do." The prefixed word does not vary for number or person. This method of forming the future is, as Paspati (p. 101) points out, borrowed from modern Greek, in which *θέλω* contracted to *θὲ* and *θὰ*, is used in this way, as *θὰ ὑπάγω* "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the *ga* and *la* types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 58. Definition of the Compound Tenses and Auxiliary Verbs.—§ 59. The Root *AS*, Present Tense.—§ 60. Imperfect in Panjabi and Gipsy.—§ 61. *AS* with a Negative.—§ 62. Compound Tenses formed with *AS*.—§ 63. The Root *ACHH*; Discussion as to its Origin.—§ 64. Tenses derived therefrom.—§ 65. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 66. *BHÚ*;—the Simple Tenses.—§ 67. *id.*;—the Participial Tenses.—§ 68. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 69. *STHÁ*.—§ 70. *YÁ*.—§ 71. Ancillary Verbs Defined.—§ 72. Examples of Ancillaries.

§ 58. Further removed from the old synthetical type than either of the preceding classes of tenses is that class which now comes under discussion. It is by means of this class that the seven modern languages, after having rejected the numerous and complicated formations of the Sanskrit verb, have secured for themselves the machinery necessary for the expression of very delicate shades of meaning. So numerous, indeed, are these shades of meaning, and so fine are the distinctions between them, that it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch them.

The tenses in question are constructed by adding to the participles already mentioned various tenses of certain auxiliary verbs, and in a few instances by adding these auxiliaries to the simple present, or aorist. The auxiliaries themselves are modern formations capable of being used alone, and are traceable to well-known Sanskrit roots through processes partly Prakritic and partly post-Prakritic. Pali and the Prakrits carry the verbs in question through certain grades of change,

and the modern languages either preserve the Prakrit form unchanged, or subject it to further changes of their own, such changes being often governed by laws unknown to the Prakrit stage of development.

The roots so employed are √ अस्, √ भू, √ स्था, √ या, and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form अच्छ्. It will be necessary first to examine each of these roots and draw out the modern forms to be affiliated to each, after which the tenses formed by them may be arranged in order.

§ 59. *AS.* This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin *esse* (see under *sthâ* in § 12). Only the present tense can be clearly traced in the modern languages, though there are some detached fragments here and there which may possibly represent other tenses. These will be noted further on. In Sanskrit the root belongs to the second or *ad* conjugation, in which the terminations are added direct to the root, thus giving rise to various euphonic changes in accordance with the laws of Sandhi. Pali and the scenic Prakrits, in contradiction to their usual practice of employing the *bhû* type for all roots, retain in this verb the *ad* type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs—

Skr.	Sing.	1. asmi,	2. asi,	3. asti.
„	Pl.	1. smaḥ,	2. stha,	3. santi.
Pa. and Pr.	Sing.	1. asmi, amhi.	2. asi,	3. atthi.
„	Pl.	1. asma, amha.	2. attha,	3. santi.

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as *'mhi, 'mha.* These forms, however, belong to the scenic Prakrit, which, as Pischel has shown, is really almost as artificial a language as Sanskrit, and on comparing the corresponding tense in the modern languages, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to derive it from the scenic forms. We are not justified in assuming

that the modern tense was derived, according to different phonetic laws, from those which have guided and effected the transformations of other words in these languages. On the contrary, in the absence of a continuous chain of documents exhibiting the gradual changes that have taken place, we have nothing to guide us but the general principles of phonetic evolution, which we have been able to formulate for ourselves from undoubted instances. We have numerous well-established cases in which the Prakrit, followed by the moderns, has conjugated a verb according to the *bhú* type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the *bhú* conjugation have swallowed up all other conjugational types, just as much as those of the *as* stem in nouns have driven out all other declensional forms. In this view there would be strong reasons for postulating the existence of a present tense of √अस् conjugated after the *bhú* type, thus—

Sing.	1. asâmi,	2. asasi,	3. asati.
Pl.	1. asâmaḥ,	2. asatha,	3. asanti.

It is only from such a form as this, the existence of which, though I am not aware of any text in which it is found, may fairly be inferred from analogy, that the modern forms can, in accordance with the ordinary laws of development, be derived.

Beginning with Sindhi as the most archaic, or nearly so, this tense runs thus—

Sing.	1. आंहियां,	2. आंहें, आंहीं,	3. आहे.
Pl.	1. आंहियूं,	2. आंहियो,	3. आंहिनि.

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of anunâsikas which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this aorist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. *âhe* is contracted from *ahaï*, which, again, is good Prakrit for *asati*, but it could hardly be deduced from *asti*, which, as we have seen, naturally results in

Prakrit *atthi*. The terminations of the other persons agree with those of the aorist of the active verb given in § 33, and those are obviously and admittedly derived from the terminations of the *bhú* type. I am unable to account for the peculiarity of this tense using the forms of the active verb, where we should naturally have expected those of the neuter, आहां, etc. like हलां, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in mediæval Sindhi, I have no materials on which to form an opinion. It is to be hoped that the learned author, in the next edition of his very valuable grammar, will furnish some elucidation of this curious anomaly. This tense is all that remains to us in Sindhi of the Sanskrit substantive verb *as*.

Only the aorist, also, has survived in Marathi, which has—

Sing.	1. आहें,	2. आहेस	3. आहे.
Pl.	1. आहों	2. आहां,	3. आहेत.

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having ओं instead of ऊं. In M., as in S., the initial vowel is lengthened, the reason for which is not obvious, as there has been no loss of consonants requiring compensatory lengthening. M., like S., has only this one tense from *as*. No traces of it are found in G. or O., except in a negative form, which will be treated of in the next section.

Hindi and Panjabi agree very closely in the aorist. Classical Hindi represents, however, a modern development of this tense. In the mediæval writers, and in the present dialects of the eastern and central Hindi area, the older form is preserved thus—

	Singular.		
Old-H.	1. अहउं	2. अहहि	3. अहहि
Avadhî.	1. अहेंउं	2. अहेस	3. अहै
Riwâî.	1. हूं, आं	2. है	3. है, आ

		Plural.	
Old-H.	1. अहहिं	2. अहऊ	3. अहहिं
Avadhî.	1. अही	2. अहें, अहौ	3. अहैं
Riwâî.	1. हैं	2. अहेन, ही	3. अहेन अहैं आं.

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last *h*, as in Kabir क्रितिया सुच लोक एक अहइ "There *is* one line of duty in the world" (Ram. lvi. 1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम नाम अहै निज सारू ॥ "The name of Ram *is* itself the true one" (*ib.* lxiv. 5), or with long *i*, metri gratia, धर्म कहै सब पानी अहई ॥ "Religion, he saith, *is* all (one like) water" (*ib.* lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहऊ संभारे राम विचारे कहत अहौं (for अहउं) जो पुकार हो ॥ "Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus *I am* calling aloud, oh!" (*ib.* Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तसि मति फिरी अहइ जसि भावी ॥ "Thus her mind *is* changed as fate decrees" (Ay-k. 117), राम चराचर नायक अहहीं ॥ "Ram *is* lord of things moveable and immoveable" (*ib.* 445), विधि करतब उलटे सब अहहीं "The laws of duty *are* all reversed" (*ib.* 617), सुगम सकल मग तुम्ह कहँ अहहीं "All roads *are* easy to thee" (*ib.* 574).

By aphæresis of the initial *a* we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing.	1. हौं, हूं,	2. है,	3. है.	Pl.	1. हैं,	2. हो,	3. हैं.

The classical language uses हूं in the 1 sing., but हौं is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between हौं, used as a singular, and हैं, used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the aorist in the ordinary verb (§ 33). The form हौं seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. *ahâmu*, and हैं to *ahâmi*, and we are led to suspect that an inversion of the two words has taken place. Avadhi 2 sing. *ahes* has, like M., a variant *ahas*, both of which lead back to an older *ahasi*, just as 3 sing. *ahai* does to *ahati*. It is obvious that had √*as* not been treated as a *bhû* verb, there would have

arisen no such types as *ahai* and *hai*; for *asti* goes into *atthi*, which would have led to something very different.

Panjabi closely follows H., having—

Sing. 1. हां, 2. हैं, 3. है. Pl. 1. हां, 2. हो, 3. हन.

It has also, as noticed in § 54, a form of this tense with the participial addition गा *m.*, गी *f.*, etc., as—

Sing. 1. हांगा, 2. हैंगा, 3. हैगा,
Pl. 1. हांगे, 2. होगे, 3. हनगे "I am," etc.,

where the type of the future is mixed up with that of the present. I have heard this form used mostly at the end of a sentence, where the speaker seems to hesitate, as if he felt the want of something more to say, and ultimately adds a *gá*. It is also used doubtingly, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers "well, perhaps it is so"—हैगा.

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.

The present of this verb in the dialect of the Rumilian Gipsies (Paspati, p. 80) adheres more closely to the Sanskrit. It runs thus—

Sing. 1. isóm, 2. isán, 3. isí.
Pl. 1. isám, 2. isán, 3. isí.

§ 60. Panjabi has also an imperfect in a great many forms which must apparently be affiliated to this root. First there is a purely participial form—

Sing. 1, 2, 3, सा *m.*, सी *f.*
Pl. से *m.*, सीआं *f.*, "I, thou, he was," etc.

Then गा is added as in the present, giving सागा, सीगो, सेंगे, सीगीआं. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the *Lodiana* grammar. One often hears सी, which is properly feminine singular, used for the mascu-

line singular, and plural also. Moreover, there is a defective form having only some of the persons, which looks somowhat inflectional. The singular 2 and 3, and plural 2, are supplied by parts of खा.

Sing. 1. सां. Pl. 1. सां. 3. सन, सैन.

To this, also, is added गा, thus

Sing. 1. सांगा *m.*, सांगी *f.*
Pl. 1. सांगे *m.*, सांगीआं *f.* 3. सनगे *m.*, सनगीआं *f.*

Yet another and extremely common form in colloquial usage prefixes है to this type—

Sing. 1. हैसां. 2, 3. हैसी.
Pl. 1, 2. हैसे *m.*, हैसीआं *f.* 3. हैसन.

Most of these forms are dialectic, and, as such, in use only in certain parts of the country. The participial form given first is probably the original; seeing how much the past tenses of the Sanskrit verb had fallen out of use at an early period, we are, perhaps, hardly justified in looking for anything but a participial origin for a modern past tense, and in this view we might postulate a p.p.p. *asita*. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of *as* is one of the few imperfects of Skr. verbs, which did live on into the Pali and Prakrit, and the inflectional form of this tense can be phonetically derived therefrom, thus—

Skr.	Sing. 1. आसं,	2. असीः,	3. आसीत्.
	Pl. 1. आस्म,	2. आस्त,	3. आसन्.
P.	Sing. 1. सां,	2. सी,	3. सी.
	Pl. 1. सां,	—	3. सन.

If we take this view it would seem that the tense was originally inflectional, but that all other verbs in the language having a participial construction, this also was, by the common

process of mistaken analogy, considered participial also, and *i* being the ordinary termination of the feminine, सी was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine सा was invented to suit it, together with the plurals से and सीआं. This reasoning will account also for the fact that सी is often used for the masculine singular. Whether the origin of this multiform tense be participial or inflectional, it is abundantly clear that the present usage of the language presents a maze of confused forms, which, their origin having been forgotten, have become mixed together in great variety.

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. हो *m.*, ही *f.*, pl. हे *m.*, हीं *f.* A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. हो, pl. हा. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of *as*, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of स into ह.

So, also, here would, on the same principle, come in two preterites or rather imperfects—

Kanauji.	Sing.	हतो *m.*, हती *f.*
	Pl.	हते *m.*, हतीं *f.*, "I, etc., was."
Gujarati.	Sing.	हतो *m.*, हती *f.*, हतुं *n.*
	Pl.	हता *m.*, हती *f.*, हतां *n. id.*

which appear to come from Pr. present participle संतो "being." The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the verb *ho* (§ 67).

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable *as* to the present.[1]

Sing.	1. isómas,	2. isánas,	3. isás (isí+as).
Pl.	1. isámas,	2. isánas,	3. isás.

[1] Paspati, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 15, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.

This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding *as* to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.

§ 61. The derivatives of *as* in the present tense are in some languages curiously bound up with the negative into a tense which exists in those languages in which there is no trace of the positive form. Thus Oriya, which has no positive present *as*, has a complete negative present, "I am not, etc."

Sing.	1. नुहें,	2. नुह,	3. नुहे.
Pl.	1. नाऊं,	2. नाह,	3. नाहान्ति.

Here the *u* in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of *bhû*, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply नहे, "he is not." The insertion of this *u* is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, *nuhe* would be for *na hue*, and *nuhanti* for *na huanti*. *Nuhanti*, and not *nâhânti*, is the older form, as in—

करुणा हृदय नुहन्ति निरदय ।

"Merciful-hearted *they are not*, but pitiless."—Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from *as*, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from *bhû*; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the *u*, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.

G. has नथी for all persons of both tenses, they say हुं नथी "I am not," तुं नथी "thou art not," ते नथी "he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for

नथी is clearly derived from अत्थि, the Pr. form of अस्ति with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of *as* is kept distinct from that of *bhû* in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहींस, 3. नाहीं. Pl. 1, 2. नाहीं, 3. नाहींत.

In Hindi नहि and नहीं are used to mean simply "not," and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form; thus नाहे or नआहे "he is not."

§ 62. The present tense from *as* is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of *as* to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as—

Def. Present • देखता है "he is seeing."
Def. Preterite देखा है "he has seen."

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आवे है "he comes." This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech.[1]

[1] Kellogg, p. 206.

Panjabi has the following:—

Def. Present	जांदा है "he is going."
Def. Imperfect	जांदा सा "he was going."
Def. Preterite	गिआ है "he has gone."
Pluperfect	गिआ सा "he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:—

Def. Present	हलंदो आहे "he is going."
Def. Preterite	हलिओ आहे "he has gone."

Marathi has a wider range; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction—

Def. Present	लिहीत आहे "he is writing."
„ (Emphatic)	लिहितो आहे "he *is* writing."
Def. Preterite	लिहिला आहे "he has written."
Future	लिहिणार आहे "he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. *ACHH.* This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from *as*; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (*Śauraseni*), *asterachchha*. But the next sûtra gives *tipâtthi*, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankshipta Sâra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only *atthi*,

though fragments of a present tense *achchhaï*, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from *asti* by inversion *atsi*, as *ts* we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into च्छ, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting *achchh* as an equivalent for *as*, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that *vuṭṭa* and *khuppa* are used for Skr. *masj*, but no one supposes that *vuṭṭa* can, by any known process of phonetic change, be *derived* from *masj*. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that *achchh* is used instead of *as*, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that *acch* is a form of *gach* (√ gam), "to go." This view is supported by citations from the Bhâgavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. *acchejja vâ ciṭṭhejja vâ nisîeyya vâ uyaṭṭejja*, "Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up." In the examples quoted from the Saptaśatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus—

tuppâṇaṇâ kino ac-
chasi tti ia pucchiâi vahuâi.—Sapt. 291.

Here Weber translates, "Why *goest* thou with anointed face?" but the scholiast has *kiṃ tishṭhasi*, "why *standest* thou?" The general meaning of the passage is merely "why *art thou*" thus, *i.e.* "why have you got your face anointed?" So in 344,

asamattamanorahaiṃ acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, "They *are* (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled." In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of *stay*:

acchaü tâva maṇaharam
piyâi muhadaṃsaṇaṃ aïmahaggham
taggâmachettasîmâ
vi jhatti diṭṭha suhâvei,

literally, "Let stand (or let be) the heart-entraneing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights." He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, "Her face delights, said I? not her face merely—(or, let alone her face)—why even the sight of the village where she lives delights." Here *acchaü* is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say *tâku dekhibâ thâü, tâhâr grâm simâ madhya dekhibâ ânand aṭe*, "Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight." It is like the use of the word *alam* in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of O. থা in this construction is that of থাক in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra—

উপোষে উপোষে লোক হৈল মৃত প্রায়।
থাকুক অন্নের কথা জল নাহি পায়॥

"From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,
Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."—Mânsingh, 446.

Literally, "Let the matter of food *stand* (aside)," see § 69. In the Chingana or Gipsy also *ach* means "to remain," "to stand." Thus, *opré pirende achâva*, "I stand on my feet," or simply, "I stand," Paspati "se tenir debout;" *achilo korkoro* "he remained alone," *ate achilom* "here I am," literally "here I have remained;" *achen devlésa* "remain with God," "good-bye" (*i.e.* "God be with ye"), Pasp. "Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés."

Not to multiply examples, the use of this verb in a sense which, whatever its original meaning, has become almost equivalent to that of "being," is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Hâla. The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root ज्ञ (*jâna*), as in *âṇâsi* = *jânâsi*, *âṇavedi* = *âjnâpayati*, etc. Also in *uṇo* = *punaḥ*, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. √अक्ष् *aksh*, "to appear." This root seems to have borne in Skr. rather the meaning of "to reach, pervade" (see Williams's Dict. s.v.), but if we are to connect with it अक्षि "eye," as seems probable, the meaning of "to see," or "to appear," would be natural to it. It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in क्ख, स, and ख, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier क्ष.[1]

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem अच्छ् or अक्ख् (Weber writes it in both ways), we may, I think, start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit, and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its connection with अस्. Indeed, as has already been shown, अस् so regularly passes into अह् in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become अच्छ्. I

[1] Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between *ach* and *gam*, for he has a sûtra to the effect that words of the class *gam* take the termination *cha*; the list consists of the four words *gacchaï* (gam), *icchaï* (ish), *jacchaï* (yam), and *acchaï* (?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. If *acchaï* were only *gacchaï*, with loss of the initial consonant, it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule. In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Hala quoted above—

jâmahiṃ visamî kajjagaï jîvahaṃ majjhe ei
tâmahim acchaü iaru jaṇu suaṇu vi antarudei,

"As long as [your] circumstances in life go badly (literally 'as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life'), so long, *let alone* (acchaü) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval')," "Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris." Kajjagaï = kâryagati, iaru = itara.

have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.

§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb असू, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes च्छ, especially when derived from an earlier च, into स (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit √*as* having in M. become *âhe*, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. *ase*, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in अच्छ. M. has the following tenses :—

1. Aorist—

Sing.	1. असें,	2. असस,	3. असे,
Pl.	1. असूं,	2. असां,	3. असत,

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing.	1. असूं,	2. अस, ऐस,	3. असो.
Pl.	1. असूं,	2. असा,	3. असोत.

3. Simple future—

Sing.	1. असेन,	2. अससील,	3. असेल.
Pl.	1. असूं,	2. असाल,	3. असतोल.

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing.	1. असतों,	2. असतोस,	3. असतो.
Pl.	1. असतों,	2. असतां,	3. असतात.

5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. असता, etc., as in the ordinary verb.

6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. असला, etc.

7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. असावा, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only, which is thus conjugated—

Sing.	1. अछि,	2. अछु,	3. अछि.
Pl.	1. अछुं,	2. अछ,	3. अछिन्त.

There being no formation from √*as* in O., this tense does duty for the simple "I am, thou art," etc. With lengthening of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we now have—

Present	Sing. 1. आछि,	2. आछिस,	3. आछे "I am," etc.
	Pl. 1. आछि,	2. आछ,	3. आछेन.
Imperfect	Sing. 1. छिनु,	2. छिलि,	3. छिल "I was," etc.
	Pl. 1. छिलाम्,	2. छिला,	3. छिलेन्.

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to *dekhinu*, etc., of the regular verb. The loss of the initial *á* is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bhârat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755). आछिल बिस्तर ठाट प्रथम वयेसे "She was (*i.e.* had been) very wanton in her youth" (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, जे ताल वेताल सिद्ध आछिल तोमार "What vicissitudes were experienced by you" (Kasi-M. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit themselves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme

eastern limits of Hindi, in the Maithila province (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:

Sing. 1. छूं, 2. छु, 3. छे. Pl. 1. छूं, 2. छूं, 3. छें.

It has also a feminine singular छी, plural छीं, uninflected for person.

Close to the Bengali frontier, near the junction of the Mahanandâ and Kankai rivers, they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali, and have a present—

Sing. 1. छि, 2. छिस, 3. छइ. Pl. 1. छि, 2. छें, 3. छे.

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

Sing. 1. छी, 2. छं, 3. छइ. Pl. 1. छि, 2. छां, 3. छाइ.

In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard खे, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from अच्, for च changes both to छ and to ख.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhwâl, Kellogg (p. 201) gives a present of this verb, and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana. It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati—

	SINGULAR.		
Kumâon.	1. छौं, छूं	2. छै	3. छ.
Garhwâl.	1. छौं	2. छ, छै	3. छ.
E. Rajputana.	1. छूं	2. छि	3. छै.
Gujarati.	1. छुं	2. छे	3. छे.
	PLURAL.		
Kumâon.	1. छूं, छों	2. छा	3. छन, छीं.
Garhwâl.	1. छौं, छवाऊं	2. छन, छयाई	3. छन.
E. Rajputana.	1. छां	2. छो	3. छै.
Gujarati.	1. छइये	2. छो	3. छे.

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle

in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumâon they say sing. छियो, pl. छिया or छियां, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. अचित = Pr. अच्छियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. छो, pl. छा.

Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsi's Ramayan—

आप अछत जुवराज पद रामहि देउ नरेस

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"
—Ay-k. 11.

That is, "during thy lifetime," literally "thou being." The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from अक्षत, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in P. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root rather than to *as*. The change of छ into स so characteristic of M. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable छतां and छते "(in) being," and declinable छंतो *m.*, ती *f.*, तुं *n.*; pl. छता *m.*, ती *f.*, तां *n.* "being."

§ 65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi, that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present participle of the verb, as राहत असतो "he is living," *i.e.* "he habitually resides," लिहीत असतों "I am (always employed in) writing."

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as बसत असे "he was in the habit of sitting." It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound

tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary in the conditional present. It is used with जर "if" prefixed, either expressed or understood, as जर काम करीत असता "If he *were doing* the work," पाऊस पडत असता "(If) rain were to fall (as it is now falling)." The same tense of the auxiliary, when used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite, as पडला असता "he would have fallen (if, etc.)."

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as तो जात असला तर तें काम त्याला सांगा "If he *should be going*, then entrust this affair to him." Similarly, with the same part of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as तो आला असला तर "Should he have arrived, then, etc."

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as जर तो जाणार असला तर मला सांग "Should he be about to go, then tell me."

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen from the following examples:—

1. Present participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

   तुझा बाप तुझी वाट पाहत असेल "Your father *will be waiting* for you" (*i.e.* is probably now expecting you; *vâṭa pâhat*="looks at the road," idiomatic for "expects").

2. Past participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

   तो आला असेल "He will have come" (*i.e.* "has probably arrived by this time").

3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

मी लिहिणार असेन "I may be now going to write" (*i.e.* "I shall probably be writing presently").

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of formlore, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, *Râm jât asalâ, tar tẽ kâm tyâlâ sângâ*, the words are actually, "Ram going was, then that affair to him tell," where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore

tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and render word for word into Hindi or Marathi; thus probably producing a sentence which means something widely different from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign languages; until a man learns to *think* in the foreign language, and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind, he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, therefore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate *nuances* of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to translate any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this way, "Ram fled?" Answer, *ho!* (Yes). "You knew that fact?" *ho!* "You went home?" *ho!* "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer *ná! ná!* (No! No!).

"When you did not go home, before that, they told you?" *ho!* So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above, "If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him," one would have to say, "Near him you having gone, he 'I am now going' having said, this word having heard this matter to him you will tell." Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods, I am taking an extreme case; but the remarks will hold good, more or less, for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India, and it must be remembered that the expression "lower classes" means in India eight-tenths of the whole population.

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary છે in G. are the following:—

1. Definite present; aorist of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as કરે છે "he does."

Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as કર છ for કરે છે "thou dost," કરે છ "he does." કરો છ for છો "ye do," etc.

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as આપ્યો છે "he has given," active used in *karma* construction with instrumental of subject. તેણે કામ બજાવેલું છે "he has performed the work;" neuter in *kartâ*, as હું ચડ્યો છું "I have ascended."

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in *elo*, as ચડેલો છું "I have ascended." There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last.

4. Definite future; future participle of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as ખાનારો છે "he is about to eat."

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in *vâno*, as હું કરવાનો છું "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in *ár* may also be used, as તું શું કરનાર છે "What art thou going to do?" These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and

definite purpose, much as in German *er will thun* differs from *er wird thun*.

The auxiliary छे is sometimes also used after another auxiliary derived from *bhú*, as छोडतो होय छे "he is (now) loosing." Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses that there is not for each one of them a distinct special meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly the case in Hindi, as will be seen below; and in the poets, who are our only guides for the mediæval period, metrical necessities, rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root, use them also as auxiliaries.[1] Eastern Rajputana has the definite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and that of the auxiliary, मारूं छूं "I am beating," also a preterite composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as मार्यो छै "I have beaten." There seems to be some anomaly in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb छै is added to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb हो "be," the auxiliary is participial sing. छो, pl. छा. Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present participle and the aorist मारदो (or मारदू) छौं "I am beating;" and its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मारे छ "he has beaten," मारा छन "they have beaten." So does Kumaoni, present मारनु छूं, preterite मारो छ; but in these, also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider range of observations requires to be made in remote and little known parts of the country.

[1] Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.

Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thus—

Def. Present দেখিতেছি "I am seeing" (dekhite + âchhi).

Def. Imperfect দেখিতেছিনু "I was seeing" (dekhite + [â]chhinu).

In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl. has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear—

দেখিতেছিলাম্ "I was seeing" (dekhite + [â]chhilâm).

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite দেখিয়াছি "I have seen" (dekhiyâ + âchhi).

Pluperfect দেখিয়াছিনু "I had seen" (dekhiyâ + âchhinu).

Here, also, দেখিয়াছিলাম is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: ছ loses its aspirate and becomes চ, so that we hear for করিতেছে a word that sounds *körche*, and may be written করচে, for হইতেছে "is" vulgo *höche* (হচে), for দেখিয়াছে *dekhiche* (দেখিচে), and for দেখিয়াছিলাম *dekhichilĕm*, or *dekh'chilĕm* (দেখিচিলেম?). So also for চালিতেছে "goes" *chalöche* (চলচে). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-

tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite—

Def. Present କରୁ ଅଛି "I am doing" (pres. part. *karu* "doing").

Def. Preterite କରି ଅଛି "I have done" (p.p. *kari* "done").

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say କରୁଛି and କରିଛି respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in ଉଁ prevails, and one hears କରୁଁଛି "he is doing," and contracted ଜଁଛି "he is."

§ 66. *BHŪ.* This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form *HO*; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb "to be," it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be discussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although *ho* is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial *bh* is retained. In Pali, both *bhavati* and *hoti* are found for 3 sing. pres., *abhavâ* and *ahuvâ* impf., *bhavatu* and *hotu* impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find *bhodu*=*bhavatu*, *bhavia* =*bhûtvâ*, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the *bh* are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. भयौ *m.*, भई *f.*, pl. भए, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the

verbal endings, as भयेउ, भयउ, etc. It is also contracted into भौ; and in the modern form भया "was," may be heard commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi area of the present time. This form presupposes a Pr. भविओ = a Skr. भवित, with elision of the व, and य called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

Kanauji.[1]	1. 2. 3. भयो *m.*, भई *f.*		
Braj.	*id.* भयौ *m.*, *id.*		
Old-Pûrbi.	1. भयउं *m.*, भा, भइउं *f.*	2. भयउ *m.* भइ *f.*	3. भयउ *m.*, भा भइ *f.*
Avadhi.	1. भयेउं *m.*, भवा, भयिउं *f.*	2. भयेस *m.* भयिसि *f.*	3. भवा, भया *m.* भइ, भै *f.*
Riwâi.	1. 2. 3. भा, भ.		
Bhojpuri.	1. भोइली, भैली,	2. भैल,	3. भैलस, भैल.

PLURAL.

Kanauji.[1]	1. 2. 3. भए *m.*, भईं *f.* (also भये *m.*).		
Braj.	*id.*		
Old-Pûrbi.	1. भये, भे *m.* भईं *f.*	2. भये, भयेऊ *m.* भईं, भईंऊ *f.*	3. भये, भे *m.* भईं *f.*
Avadhi.	1. भये *m.* भै *f.*	2. भये *m.* भयिउ *f.*	3. भयें *m.* भयेनि *f.*
Riwâi.	1. 2. 3. भयेन, भयेन्ह.		
Bhojpuri.	1. भोइलीं, भैलीं,	2. भैलह,	3. भैलन्.

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

[1] Kanauji may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pûrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhi, that of Oudh (Avadh); Riwâi, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrbi are the dialects in use in the mediæval poets generally.

Kanauji, thus भयौ कोटि तामस तांम ॥ "He *became* violently disturbed with anger" (Pr. R. i. 48), अनंगपाल भयौ राज ॥ "Anangapâl *became* King" (iii. 17), पुब्ब कथा ज्यौं भई । सनौ लुं कहौं अपुब्बह ॥ "How the former matter *happened*, listen while I tell the wonderful tale" (iii. 15), पुत्र होत भई मृत्य ॥ "While the son was being (born), she *became* dead" (i. 170), भए आदि अंत कविता जिते । "As many poems as *have been* (written) first and last" (i. 10), भए विकल लोग घाइल उ ताप ॥ "The folk *became* distressed, (being) wounded and heated" (xxi. 5). Contracted मन भौ हास करुन पुनि आइय ॥ "Laughter *became* (arose) in her mind, then after pity came" (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chand as to supersede the other form of the preterite हुआ to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुतिया नाम पारबति भयऊ । तप करता संकर को दयऊ ॥ "Her second name *was* Pârvati, the ascetic (*i.e.* Daksha) gave her to Śankara" (Ram. 26, 5), येके पुरुष येकहै नारी ।, ततिंरचिनियान भौ चारी ॥ "One male (energy), one female, from them *were produced* four kinds of living beings" (*ib.* 6), एक अंड ओंकार ते यह सब जग भयौ पसार "From one egg, the word *Om*, all this world *has been* created" (*ib.* 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pûrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as भयौ बहोरि भयौ तेहि खारा "It filled again and thus *became* salt (*i.e.* the sea)" (Lanka-k. 3), सेतुबंध भइ भीर अति । "The Setubandh *became* very crowded" (*ib.* 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in माथ नाइ पूछत अस भयऊ "Bowing his head, thus he *was* asking" (Kis-k. 2), करि दंडवत कहत अस भयऊ "Making salutation, thus he *was* saying" (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as भे मन मुदित पाइ प्रिय साधू । "He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved" (Ay-k. 441).

Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भेल is the form भेल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in शून भेल मन्दिर शून भेल नगरी ॥, शून भेल दशदिश शून भेल सगरी ॥ "Empty *has become* the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become everything!" (Pr. K.S. 118), कोकिल कलरवे मति भेल भोरा। "From the sound of the koil's notes my mind has become distracted" (*ib.* 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial *bh*. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type *ho*, like the cognate languages.

The aorist has the following forms:—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Hindi.	1. होऊं	2. होए	3. होए.	1. होएं	2. होओ	3. होएँ.
P.	1. होवां	2. होवें	3. होवे.	1. होये	2. होवो	3. होण.
S.	1. ऊआं	2. ऊएँ	3. ऊए.	1. ऊं	2. ऊओ	3. ऊअनि.
G.	1. होउं	2. होय	3. होय.	1. होऽये	2. होओ	3. होय.
M.	1. होईं	2. होईस	3. होई.	1. होऊं	2. ऊं	3. होईत.
O.	1. होएं	2. हेउ	3. ऊए.	1. हेउं	2. ऊअ	3. ऊअंति.
B.	1. हइ	2. हउ	3. हय.	1. हइ	2. हओ	3. हन.

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in *ho*, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of "I am," etc., from *as*, the tense derived from *ho* is more usually employed to mean "I may be." The Pârbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. 1. हौं, 2. होस, 3. हो. Pl. 1. हौं, 2. हौ, 3. ऊन.

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in *â* or *o*, as regards the method of joining the

terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हौं in addition to होऊं; 2 and 3 sing. are written होए, होय, होवे, and हो; 1 and 3 pl. होएं, होंय, होवें, हों; 2 pl. हो as well as होओ, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of *as*.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final *o* of *ho* into *v*. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Rajp.	1. ड्वेऊं	2. ड्वै	3. ड्वै	1. ड्वैआं	2. ड्वैओ	3. ड्वै.
Riwâi.		2. ड्वास	3. ड्वाय.		2. ड्वाव	3. ड्वायं.

This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = "I used to be," takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as—

Sing. 1. होय 2. होस 3. होय. Pl. 1. ह्वों 2. ह्वां 3. होत.

The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively = "I am not," as—

Sing. 1. नव्हें 2. नव्हेस 3. नव्हे.
Pl. 1. नव्हों 2. नव्हां 3. नव्हेत (नव्हत).

and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to *hu*, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes *hû*, rarely *ho*, except in poetry, where 3 sing. होइ is met instead of ऊए. The *j*, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as—

Sing. 1. ऊजां 2. ऊजें 3. ऊजे. Pl. 1. ऊजूं 2. ऊजो 3. ऊजनि.

Oriya sometimes shortens *o* to *u*, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so

slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the *o* is changed to a very short *e*. This is generally, but not always, due to a following *i*, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the *o*-sound, *o* + *i* = a + i = ai = e. Thus 2 sing. is in full हेउ, though generally pronounced *ho*. In Bengali the *o* is generally written *a*, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh *o*, like the *o* in English *not*, *rock*, etc. Thus it comes to pass that हय and हन may be regarded, either as shortened from होय and होन respectively, and thus derivable from *ho*, or as equivalents of H. है and हैं, and so to be referred to *as*. In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H. is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is ह्वै, 2 pl. होवो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोलि कह्यो ह्वै सिद्धि सिद्धि ॥ "All speaking, said, 'May there be success, success!'" (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. ह्वास, 2 pl. ह्वाव, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होवो. S. has 2 sing. हो and होउ, 2 pl. हो and ह्रओ. G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो.

M.	Sing.	1. होऊं	2. हो	3. होवो, होऊ.
O.	„	1. ह्रएं	2. हो	3. हेउ.
B.	„		2. होउ, हउ	3. हउक.
M.	Pl.	1. होऊं	2. ह्वा	3. होवोत, होऊत.
O.	„	1. हेउं	2. ह्रअ	3. हेउंतु.
B.	„		2. हउ	3. हउन्.

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts ज, making होजिये "be pleased to be," G. होजे.

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हस, 2 pl. होस.

The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual

rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B. and O., to express the *o* sound by *a*, so that side by side with the regular forms होईग, होगे, etc., we have also sing. 1. हईग, 2. हगे, 3. हगे; pl. 1. हईगुं, 2. हगो, 3. हगे, which we must apparently pronounce *hötsh*, *höshe*, etc.

The simple futuro in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as होइहौं "I shall become," etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type ह्वै is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Braj.	1. ह्वैहौं	2. ह्वैहै	3. ह्वैहै.	1. ह्वैहैं	2. ह्वैहौ	3. ह्वैहैं.
West Rajp.	1. ह्वैहूं	2. ह्वैही	3. ह्वैही.	1. ह्वैहां	2. ह्वैहो	3. ह्वैही.

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.—

Sing.	1. ह्वैसूं, ह्वैसूं	2. ह्वैसी	3. ह्वैसी.
Pl.	1. ह्वैसां, ह्वैसां	2. ह्वैसो, ह्वैसो	3. ह्वैसो.

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in Kellogg's admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gradations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb holds true, "Every twelve *kos* language changes, as the leaves change on the trees."

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary vehicle of the Krishna-*cultus*, and thus to a certain extent a cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the full form होइहै, a shortened form होहि, and the Braj ह्वैहै. Also occasionally होइ in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होए (हुए). Examples are प्रलै होइहै तिन वंसह ॥ "His race *shall become* extinct" (Pr.-R. iii.

29), होहि जदवनि सपूतह ॥ "Tho Jadavani *shall be* with child" (i. 249), दिवस पंच कै अंतरै । होइ सु दिल्ली पति ॥ "In the space of five days, he *shall become* lord of Dilli" (iii. 411), ह्वआ न और ह्वैहै न कोइ । "There has not been, and there *shall not be*, any (like him)" (i. 331).

To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the mediæval poets होइहै, होइहि, होहि, and होई are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होगा is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, भये जे अहहिं जे होइहैं आगे । "They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter" (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30), होइहि यही कल्याण अब । "Now this good fortune will be (will happen)" (*ib.* 82), अब तें रति तव नाथ कर होइहि नाम अनङ्ग । "Henceforth, Rati, tho name of thy lord shall be Ananga" (*ib.* 96). The form ह्वैहै does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle ह्वै is common; this latter poet's subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. बहुरि जनम न होइहै ताको "There shall not again be birth to him (he shall escape the pain of a second birth)" (Kabir, Ram. 57). In the majority of the poets the forms *hvai* and *hoi* seem to be regarded as virtually the same, and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre. There is unfortunately as yet no critically prepared or corrected edition of the texts of any of them, and owing to the mistaken policy of the Government, by which artificial works written to order have been prescribed as examination tests, the genuine native authors have been entirely neglected.

§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. ङवंत, as in Chand हसन ङवंत निवारि "Laughing *being* prevented" (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होता *m.*, होती *f.*, Braj होतु; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indeclinable. In the Rajputana dialects the form ह्वेतो is found. The other languages have P. ह्वंदा, S. ह्वंदो, G. होतो, M. होत, होतां,

होतांना, O. हेउ, B. होइते, though really the locative of a present participle is used as an infinitive.

The past participle is in H. one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. भूत, H. हुआ. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short हुआ, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होइआ, S. हुओ, G. होओ, होयो, होयलो.

M. has a strange participle झाला, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form ह्याला, shortened from होयाला. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from ह्य to झ is perfectly regular. In the poets a form जाला is found, and even जाहाला. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root या. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses जा°, as आजि पुरले नवस । धन्य जाला हा दिवस ॥ "To-day our vows are heard, blessed *has become* (is) this day" (Abh. 508).

O. होइ, हेला, B. होइल, हइल.

The future participle is in M. हावा, O. हेब, B. हइब, contracted to हब (hŏbŏ).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in M. forms with the aid of the substantive verb *as* a regular present, as 3 sing. होतो *m.* होती *f.* होतें *n.* But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb (§ 42) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of *ho* employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, *hoto*, etc., means "he becomes," the conditional form *hotá*, etc., means "he was." This usage is analogous to that of the G. *hato*, etc., mentioned in § 40., and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. हुतो *m.*, हुती *f.* etc. It has been

suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. भूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that *bhûta* had at a very early epoch lost its *t* and become in Pr. *hûam*, *hoïam*, and the like; also that in Chand the *anusvâra* of the present participle is still preserved, as in दुज ऊंतो दुजनिय भोर। (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman *became* to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage इक ऊंतो सिंगिय रिष्य "There *was* one Śringa Ṛishi."

§ 68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb *ho* are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with गिरता "falling," and गिरा "fallen" (*gir* "to fall")—

1. गिरता होऊं (aorist of *ho*) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारे घर को जाते "Are you going to my house?" one might answer जाता होऊं "I may be going (but am not sure)."

2. गिरता हूंगा (future of *ho* shortened from होऊंगा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम अबही आता है "Is Ram coming now?" the reply is, हां आता होगा "Yes, he will be coming," or, "he must be coming," *i.e.* "I suppose he is now on his way here."

3. गिरता होता "(If) I were falling," conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: राम जदि भागता होता तो मैं उसको रोकता "If Ram were now running away, I would stop him" (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.

4. गिरा होऊं "I may have fallen." Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कबही सुना "Have you ever heard his name?" one might say सुना होऊं "I may have heard it" (but have now forgotten it).

5. गिरा हूंगा "I must or shall have fallen." This is a very commonly used tense. Thus ऊआ होगा is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to "I dare say," "very likely," "I shouldn't wonder." Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम ने संवाद पाया है "Has Ram received the news?" Answer, पाया होगा "He will have received it," meaning "Oh yes, of course he has," or with a different inflection of voice, "I dare say he has."

6. गिरा होता "(If) I had fallen." Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रह may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम जदि कल्ह आए रहते "If you had come yesterday." The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो मैं न आया होता उन का पाप न होता "If I had not come . . . they had not had sin."

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of *ho*. In this language *ho*, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present जांदा है "He is going," side by side with a continuative present with *ho*, जांदा ऊंदा है "He kept on going;" also, "He is in the habit of going." So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जांदा ऊंदा सा "He kept on going," "He was always going." Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of *ho* (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) जांदा होवेगा "He will probably be going," and a continuative form containing *ho* twice over, जांदा ऊंदा होवेगा "He will probably be always going." Thus, to the question उह कितनाकु चिर उथे

रहिंदा होवेगा "How long will he be stopping there?" the answer might be, उथे उह दा घर है उह ता सदा सरबदा उथे रहिंदा ऊंदा होवेगा "His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there." With जे "if" prefixed, the tense जांदा ऊंदा means "If I were in the habit of going."

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of *ho*: जांदा होवां "I may be going," and with "if" prefixed, "If I should be going;" and जांदा ऊंदा होवां "I may be constantly going," "If I should be always going."

With the past participle they combine the present participle of *ho*, as रक्खिआ ऊंदा "I would have put," and conditionally, जे मैं रक्खिआ ऊंदा "If I had put," "If I should have put;" as in उह जे रुपईआ बणीएं दे हत्थ दित्ता ऊंदा तां सानुं मिलिआ ऊंदा "If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it."

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of *ho*, as गिआ होवे "He may have gone," or, "If he has (perchance) gone."

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होइआ pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन घल्लिआ है "he has sent," and घल्लिआ होइआ है "he is having sent." In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continuative meaning of *ho* as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word *hoïá*, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिआ होइआ होइआ "beaten" (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of *ho* to form potentials, thus—1. हलंदो ऊए "he may be going;" 2. हलिओ ऊए "he may have gone." There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in

H. and P., probably because *ho* plays a more important part in S. than does *as*, which is represented by only one tense, or *achh*, which is not represented at all.

3. हलंदो हो "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of *ho*.

4. हलिओ हो "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. हलंदो हुंदो "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of *ho*.

6. हलिओ हुंदो "he will have gone." Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2, 4, and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason:

1. छड़िवो हुए "he may be being released." Future participle passive (§ 51) with aorist of *ho*.

3. छड़िवो हो "he was being released." The same with preterite of *ho*.

5. छड़िवो हुंदो "he will be being released." The same with future of *ho*.

Gujarati employs *ho* in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (*chaḍ* "ascend"):

1. Present participle + aorist, चडतो होय "he is ascending." Definite present.

2. The same + future, चडतो हशे "he may be ascending." Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चडतो होत "(if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, चड्यो होय "he has ascended." Definite preterite.

2. The same + future, चड्यो हशे "he may have ascended." Contingent preterite.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चड्यो होत "(if) he had ascended." Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in *elo*, as चडेलो होय, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form *vâno* (see § 52)—

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चडवानो होय "he is about to ascend." Definite future.

2. The same + future, चडवानो हशे "he may be about to ascend." Contingent future.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चडवानो होत "(if) he were about to ascend." Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते मनें छोडवानो होत तो छोडते "If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago)." Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in *ár* or *áro*, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (§ 75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from *as* and *achh*, that there is comparatively little left for *ho* to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of *ho*, as तो येत होता "he was coming."

"Incepto-continuative" imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of *ho*, as तो बोलता झाला "he began to speak." This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of *ho*, as मी लिहिणार होतों "I was to have written," *i.e.* "It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances." The example given is मी काल आपणा कडे येणार

होतों पण शरीरांत विकृतो झाल्यामुळें घरींच राहिलों "*I was to have called* (yeṇār hotāṇ) on you yesterday, but in my body illness having been (*i.e.* feeling unwell), I stayed at home."

Future continuative composed of the present participle and future of *ho*, as तो बोलता होईल "he will begin to speak (and go on speaking)."

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of *ho* used in the *Karma prayoga*, as त्वां सांगवें होतें "you should have told," lit. "by you to be told it was." This may also be expressed by using पाहिजे "ought," as मला चाललें पाहिजे होतें "I ought to have walked."

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of *ho* to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as मला चालायाचें होतें "I had to walk," *i.e.* "I was obliged to walk."

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of *ho* as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in O. or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. प्रेरित होइते, O. प्रेरित हेबा "to be sent." This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.

§ 69. *STHÁ.* The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12, where also the principal parts of the verb in S. G. and O. were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense *thá* "was," sing. था *m.*, थी *f.*; pl. थे *m.*, थीं *f.*[1]

[1] I had formerly connected this tense *thá* with G. and Braj *hato* and been thus led to refer it to *as*; but further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text,—*dies diem docet*.

This form is, I believe, shortened from थिओ, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. स्थित. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition *kâ* had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. *kṛita*; so, also, *gâ* in the H. and P. future from *gata*, *bhâ* in Old-Hindi from *bhûta*, *lâ* and *la* in M., and other futures from *lagna*; and in exact parallelism to these is *thâ* from *sthita*.

The Kanauji Hindi has sing. थो *m.*, थी *f.*; pl. थे *m.*, थीं *f.*; but the Garhwâli still preserves a fuller type in sing. थयो *m.*, थई *f.*; pl. थया *m.* Nearer still to *sthita*, and with incorporation of the Skr. root *as*, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali "I was," etc.—

Sing. 1. थियां 2. थिस् 3. थिया. Pl. 1. थियुं 2. थियौ 3. थिया.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pârbatiya or mountain Hindi; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. था is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, बोलता था "was speaking." Imperfect.

2. With past participle, बोला था "had spoken." Pluperfect.

In P. सा is occasionally used, though सा, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp[1] calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like *as* or *bhû*, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of *sthâ* in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which थो probably = स्थितः *nom.*, and the latter

[1] Grammar, p. 305.

थे = स्थिते *loc.* थो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present—

Sing.	1.	हलां थो *m.*	हलां थी *f.*
Pl.	1.	हलूं था *m.*	हलूं थिऊं *f.*, "I go," etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put *before* the principal verb. थे has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus—

Sing. 1. हलिउसि थे 2. हलिएं थे.

Pl. 1. हलिआसीं थें, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are—

व़ जालूं वार जे लाइ थे विडह्यूं "Two women *were quarrelling* (*the viḍahyūn*) about a child."

हिकिडा व़ जणा परे परडेहि थे विआ "Two men *were going* (*the biā*) to a foreign country."[1]

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative *sthite*, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase "I am (in the act or condition of) having gone," is rendered "in having been, I am gone."

G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as *ho*. As regards meaning, थवुं is more powerful than होवुं; the latter, also, is more powerful than छे. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. छे "he is," is merely the copula; होय "he is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; थाय "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

[1] Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.

as pointed out before, is analogous to that between *ser* and *estar* in Spanish.

थवुं forms compound tenses by taking parts of होवुं as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect थतो हतो, as in ते लढाई थती हती "That fight was going on."

Preterite थयो होय छे, as in तेनुं मन कठण थयुं होय छे "His heart has become hard."

Dubitative present थतो हशे, as in ते हवे पस्तावो थतो हशे "Therefore you may now be regretting," and so on.[1]

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with *ho*, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (*kar* "do") କରୁ "doing"—

a. Aorist of *thâ* କରୁ ଥାଏ, karu thâĕ, "he is (or was) doing." Continuative present.

b. Preterite ,, କରୁ ଥିଲା, karu thilâ, "he was doing." Imperfect.

c. Future ,, କରୁ ଥିବ, karu thibŏ, "he will be doing." Continuative future.

2. With the past participle କରି "done"—

a. Aorist of *thâ* କରି ଥାଏ "he has (usually) done." Habitual preterite.

b. Preterite ,, କରି ଥିଲା "he had done." Pluperfect.

c. Future ,, କରି ଥିବ "he will have done." Future past.

The difference between 1*a* and 2*a* is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. *Karu thâĕ* implies that a person habitually

[1] The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.

does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question **से हाटरे वसु थिला** "Was he sitting in the market?" the answer might be **हां सेठि वसु थाए** "Yes, *he always sits* there;" and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, **कविराज जेते बेळे आसिला मु भलहेउ थाएं** "When the doctor came, *I was getting* well," implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. *Kari thâĕ*, on the other hand, literally, "He remains having done," implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as **भारजा प्रति ताहार बड राग होइ थाए** "He is always very angry with his wife," not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of an action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as **से समयरे अम्भर बड कांश होइ थाए**[1] "At that time I had a bad cough," implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles—

a. **करु था** "Remain thou doing."

b. **करि था** "Remain thou having done."

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. **गोविंद से काम करु थाउ** "Let Gobind go on doing that work." But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), "The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present."[2] He illustrates this tense

[1] Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.

[2] I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammar, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the *rationale*, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected *karu thâ* into *kari thâ* instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.

thus: "Suppose a person should say to another, 'Do that work *so*,' and the person addressed should reply, 'I have done it *so*,' and the first speaker should then say, 'Well, always do it so,' or, 'Continue to do it so,' this last phrase would be expressed by this tense." Ex. gr.:—

तुमे सेहि काम सेमति कर "Do that work so."

Answer मु सेमति करिछि जे "I have done it so," or, "as (you order) so I have done."

Rejoinder अछ। सेमति करि था "Well, always do so," literally, "thus having done, remain."

Here, if we used *karu thâ*, we should imply that the person addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking, while *kari thâ* is used when he is not actually working.

Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional—

करू थांता "he might be doing," or, "if he were doing."

करि थांता "he might have done," or, "if he had done."

These explain themselves.

Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary, but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is थाक्, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remaining, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.

§ 70. *YÁ.* This root takes the form जा, and is used in H. P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., to form the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own (§ 24), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having a regularly derived synthetical passive (§ 25), dispenses with it altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,

it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (*dekh* "see")—

H. Aorist	देखा जाए "he is seen."	P. दिठा जावे.
Imperative	देखा जाओ "be ye seen."	दिठा जावो.
Future	देखा जाएगा "he will be seen."	दिठा जावेगा.

So also in M. and O. The various tenses of जा are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, *já* is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like "to eat a beating," *mâr khânâ*, "it comes into seeing," *dekhne men âtâ*, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, *ho* may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive *já* than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.

§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements *mâr* "strike," and *ḍâl* "throw," combine into the compound verb *mâr ḍâlná* "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of *ḍâlná*, *mâr* remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again

can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus *lag*, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as *kahne lagâ* "he began to say." Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the *upasargas*, or prepositions, and can no longer develope from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing *pra*, *abhi*, *upa*, or *sam*. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.

§ 72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but

that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. दे "give," and ले "take," are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that *de* is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while *le* implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus *de* can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are—

फेंकना "to throw,"	फेंक देना "to throw away."
निकालना "to take out,"	निकाल देना "to turn out, eject."

Thus घर से धान निकाला "he took the rice out of the house," where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in मुझ को घर से निकाल दिया है "he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना "to put,"	रख देना "to put away, lay by."
मारना "to strike,"	मार देना "to beat off."

With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning—

समझाना and समझा देना "to explain."
गिराना „ गिरा देना "to cause to fall, or to throw down,"
बैठाना „ बैठा देना "to seat, or to put into a seat."

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with दे a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases दे दो "give," and ले लो "take," where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, *de* implies permission, as जाने दो "let (him) go," हम को बैठने दीजिये "please let me sit down."

P. uses *de* in the same way as H., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhi. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तजवुं "to abandon," तजी देओ "let (it) alone!" "let go!" नाखवुं "to throw," नाखी देओ "throw (it) away!" But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, जवुं "to go," जवा देवुं "to allow to go," पडवा देवुं "to let fall," लखवा देवुं "to permit to write."

M. has the same usage of दे; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as लिहून देणें "to write," खणून देणें "to dig;" in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as "write it off," "dig it up and have done with it," as in टाकून दे "throw it away."

With the infinitive it implies permission, as मला जाऊं दे "suffer me to go," वारा लिहूं देत नाहीं "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. फिटाइ दिय "break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitivo मते आसिवाकु देला नहीं "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुस्तक देखिया दियाछि "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as आमाके पडिते दिलेन ना "They did not allow me to read."

2. ले is in all respects used similarly to दे, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed *towards* the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, पीता "he drinks," and पी लेता "he drinks up," or "drinks down," in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as राम को हमारे पास बुला लो "call Ram to me," where the simple verb बुलाना merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of *de* and *le* is well shown when added to रखना "to put;" thus रख लो means "put it away (for your own use)," but रख दो "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in *le*.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses निअण, which is the same word as *le*, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by ले जाना, as in सांदोर समुंड जे निहोडे निआ "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, माटाए निअण "to bring back," literally, "having caused to return, to take."

In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समजी लेवुं "to understand," *i.e.* "to make oneself acquainted with," शीखी लेवो "learn (this)," *i.e.* "acquire this knowledge."

M., as before remarked, uses घे, where its sisters have ले. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. घे) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in लवकर स्नान करून घ्या "quickly having bathed take." Here the word "take" is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use *ânâ* "to come," in the same way, as झट असनान करके आओ. If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man's services after he had bathed. In another phrase पोरानें हात पोळ्जन घेतला "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if घेतला were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that

the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb **नेवा** is used as in H., as **कागज पत्र बुझि नेवुं** "I will take charge of the papers and accounts," where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally "having understood I will take."

So also with B. **लओ**, as **चिटी पडाइया लइलेन** "they took and read the letter."

3. **आ** "come," **जा** "go," as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as *le* and *de*. H. **आ** is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus **बनना** "to be made," **बन आना**, or sometimes colloquially, **बने आना** "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," **खेत को देख आया हूं** "Having seen the field, I am come," *i.e.* "I have been and looked at the field," and he implies, "I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it." The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of *á* in S. is **अचणु**, pres. part. **ईंदो** "coming," p.p. **आयो** "come." It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of H. and P. Thus **वसणु अचणु** "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come *on* to rain," as—

विजूं वसणु आईयूं सारंगु चढिओ सेज ॥

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. **आव** is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as **बगडतुं आवतुं** "to become spoilt." But far more frequently **आवी**, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

ये in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as

far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do," as मला जातां येतो "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of *ânâ* in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसको लिखापढी आतो नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. जा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than *â*. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as खाना "eat," खा जाना "eat *up*," चले जाना "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो जाना "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in कह, or कहे, जाना; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say कहे जाओ, *i.e.* "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in § 18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say टूटना or टूट जाना "to be broken;" मिलना or मिल जाना "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with *jânâ* is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears टूट गया twenty times for once of टूटा. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of जाना to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in *ija*.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem वञण "go" (impt. वञु, p.p. विओ, pres. p. वींदो, वेंदो), from Skr. √व्रज, Pr. वंच. Thus, वठी वञण "to take off," मरी वञण "to be dead," *i.e* "to go, having died." चढी वञण "to ascend," *i.e.* "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to खणण "to lift," as खणी वञु "be off!" "go away!" The

general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340): सो जड़िहिं वड़ो तड़िहिं मरी विओ "When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off"). सूंहनि जो सलाह वठु त वोरि लंघे वञें "Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst *pass over* (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide."

Completion or finality is also indicated by *jâ* in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as लखतो जा "go on writing."

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक "be able," is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चल सकता "he is able to walk," कर सकेगा "he will be able to do." It is rarely, if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सकेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able." This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम कर सकेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able *to do*."

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकदा है "he is able to read," and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सघणु is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as करे सघणु "to be able to do."

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as जाने सकता नहीं "he cannot go," and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Musulmans in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, *karne saktâ* is much commoner than *kar saktâ*.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§ 54) renders its use less frequent.

B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use पार in B. with the infinitive, as करिते पारि "I can do," in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as करि पारिबि "I shall be able to do," where we should use the present. Thus in asking, "Can you tell me his name?" one would say ताहार नाम कहि पारिब, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"

6. लग "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखने लगता "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखने लगता "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as रुअण लगिओ "he began to cry." So also G., as मारवा लागवुं "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मारूं लागला "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as करावयास लागला "he began to do." B. the same, as करिते लागिल "he began to do," O. करिबाकु लागिला.

7. चुक "fail," hence "leave off, cease to do." In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as खा चुका "he has done eating," जब खा चुकेगा "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुक, as in करे चुकणु "to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहणु "to remain," वठणु "to take," निभणु "to be ended," वसि करणु *id.* G. करी चुकवुं "to have finished doing." B. the same, as दिया चुकियाछि "I have done giving." O. uses सार, as खाइ सारिलि "I have done eating," से कर्म होइ सारिला "That business is quite finished." B. also uses फेल "throw," in this sense, as बलिया फेलिलेन "They have done speaking."

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, ठेवणें and टाकणें, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; ठेवणें = स्थापनं, and consequently means "put," while टाकणें = त्याग, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and दे in H., thus हें कापड घडी करून ठेव "Fold up this cloth and lay it by," ती गाय बांधून ठेव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but त्याची पोथी त्यास देऊन टाक "Give up his book" (*i.e.* "give it him and let him go"), तें झाड उपटून टाक "Root up that tree" (*i.e.* "uproot and throw away").

9. कर "do," is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as आया करता "he always comes," तुम क्यों ऐसा किया करते हो "Why do you keep on doing so?" In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as सोई सो हरफ़ पढिओई थो पढां "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic *i* added to it. G., like H., uses करवुं with the inflected form of the p.p., as कर्या करवुं "to keep on doing," वांच्या करवुं "to keep on reading." The various uses of *karnâ* in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.

10. रह "remain," differs from कर, in that it implies continuance in a state, while कर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as बैठ रहना "to remain sitting," खेल रहते हैं "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as नदी बहती रहती। "The river flows on continually," *labitur et labetur*. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहना (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death; thus मेरा बाप जाता रहा है "My father is dead (has passed

away);" also for loss of things, as उसका सब धन जाता रहा "All his property is gone." I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहणु in the sense of continuance, as वींदो रहंदो विर्यो मिसिर शाम "He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria" (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by वतणु "to turn, wander," as बीजलु घोडा चारींदो वते "Bijalu goes on grazing the horses" (*ib.*). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs रेह, which is its version of रह with conjunctive participle for continuance, as करी रेहेवुं "to remain doing," and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चडतो रेहेछे "he ascends completely."

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as मारायाचा राहिला "he left off beating." This sense recalls that of Skr. रहित = "deprived of."

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it थाक्, and O. था.

11. पड "fall," implies generally accident, as in H. जानना "to know," जान पडना "to be found out" (*i.e.* "to be known by an accident"), as उस का दोष जो जान पडे तो हम भी नहीं बचेंगे "If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape." So also in G., as वळगवुं "to stick to," वळगी पडवुं "to become attached to, to get caught in." M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तू ज्वरग्रस्त झालास म्हणून मला खेपा घालायास पडतें "On account of your being attacked with fever, I *have to* waste my time in travelling," literally, "to me the throwing away of journeys falls." Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in बायको केली तर घर बांधायास पडेल "If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house." The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पड to the infinitive, as तुम को जाने पडेगा "You will have to go (whether

you like it or not);" so also in B. जाइते पडिब, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as धरा पडिल "he got caught," as सुन्दर पडेछे धरा शुनि विद्या पडे धरा "Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground" (Bhârat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुमिया पडिल "he fell asleep," मारा पडिल "he caught a thrashing." The same in O., as धरा पडिछि (for पडि अछि) "he has been caught."

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक बाघ पडा फिरता था "A tiger happened to be prowling about," literally, "a tiger fallen was prowling," the word "fallen" being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form पइणा (= पतनं), and the p.p. is पिआ; thus they say उह पिआ खांदा है "He is engaged in eating," where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुरना "to walk," तुर पइणा "to set out on a journey." So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पवणु, the conjunctive participle पई or पेई precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसरु सो विहाइ जो पई पुराणो न थिए "Buy those goods which do not grow old" (Trumpp, p. 341); here पई न थिए means rather "do not happen to become," "are not likely to become." खणी, the conjunctive of खणणु "to lift," is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as *le* and *de* in H., *khaṇi* being used where activity, *paï* where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खणी लिखणु "to set to work writing," खणी वजाए "he sets himself to play (music)." The past participle पिओ is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तंहिं में तजिला खिंविणिनि वांगे पिआ थिअनि "In it flashes like lightnings are found" (or "take place," or "appear;" Trumpp, *ib.*).

12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the

ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus पाना "to find," is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as मैं उसको देखने नहीं पाया "I was not allowed to see him," तुम घर के भीतर जाने नहीं पाओगे "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. पडिते पाइ ना "I am not able to read," that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

डालना "to throw," is used in II. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मारना "to strike,"	मार डालना "to kill."
तोडना "to break,"	तोड डालना "to dash in pieces."
काटना "to cut,"	काट डालना "to cut down, hack, hew."

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth's Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. The Conjunctive Participle.—§ 74. The Infinitive. § 75. The Agent.—§ 76. Sindhi Verbs with Pronominal Suffixes.—§ 77. Conjugation of Stems Ending in Vowels in Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi.—§ 78. The same in Marathi.—§ 79. The same in Bangali and Oriya.

§ 73. The participles of the present, past, and future, being used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense. From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another, and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those interminable sentences of which he is so fond, it has been called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It implies "having done," and the sense of the clause in which it is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a finite verb is added; thus, instead of saying, "Next morning he woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on his journey," the Indian languages would say, "Having woken, having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed, having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel, having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his journey, he went."

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in त्वा, as भूत्वा "having been," the other in य, as संभूय "having met." Each

of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in *ya* is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.

Thus in Prakrit we find सुणिअ = Skr. श्रुत्वा "having heard," as well as णिक्कमिअ = निष्क्रम्य "having gone out." So also दइअ = दत्त्वा "having given," चोरिअ = चोरयित्वा "having stolen," गदुअ = गत्वा "having gone," सिंचिअ = सिक्त्वा "having sprinkled," गेण्हिअ = गृहीत्वा "having taken."

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in *i*, as करि "having done," चलि "having gone," which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final *a*, thus—

सुनि कागर नृपराज प्रथु ॥ भौ आनन्द सुभाइ ॥

"Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased."
—Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in *ya*, and one in *aya*, as—

भुगति भूमि किय क्यार ॥
वेद सिंचिय जल पूरन ॥
बीय सवय लय मध्य ॥
ग्यान अंकूर सजूरन ॥

"Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot,
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water,
Having placed good seed in its midst,
Up sprung the shoot of knowledge."—Pr. R. i. 4.

Here किय "having made," and भुगति किय = mod. भोग करके "having made (or taken) possession," सिंचिय "having watered," लय = लद्य "having placed."

Mediæval Hindi has regularly the form ending in इ, as राम बचन मृदु गूढ सुनि "*Having heard* the gentle mystic speech of Rama" (*Tulsi, Rám. Bálk.* 113), पंडित भूले पढि गुनवेदा। "Sages *having read* the Veda erred as to its qualities" (Kabir, Ram.

34, 1), भक्ति विमुख जो धर्म सु सब अधर्म करि गायो ॥ "The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that *having made* (*i.e.* having declared), irreligion he sang" (Bhaktamál, Múl. 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding के, कर, करके, करकर, and even करकरके to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of करना "to do;" as देख कर "having seen," जाकर "having gone." The first of these forms के is softened from कै, which, again, is from करि, the older form of the conjunctive part. of करना, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir बहु बिधि के चित्र बनाइकै हरि रच्यौ क्रीडा रास ॥ "*Having made* many kinds of appearances (*máyá*), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;" Hindola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of कर to all verbs, it has been added to कर itself, thus making करके and करकर, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिकै, मारकै, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारीक "having beaten." Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिबेर "having beaten," which is probably the old form मारि with बेर "time" (Skr. वेला), literally, "at the time of beating."

In the case of the common verb *ho*, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms होइ and ह्वै, especially the latter, as गुरु भक्त एक न्यारो नही ह्वै सके। "Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart" (*sak* ancillary with conjunctive of *ho* = "could be;" Bhaktamál, 116, 1), रजनी अंध कूप ह्वै जाए "The night becomes as dark as a well" (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मानुस बडे बडे ह्वै आये "Very great men came" (lit. "having become very great;" *ib.* 17, 6).

P. is the same as H., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short *i*, as देखि "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add करि, often pronounced किरि, as देखिकरि "having seen." O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in *ile*, as मारिले "having beaten," which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally "in having beaten." The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखिलारे "in having seen," and देखिलारु "from having seen," which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding ठारे and ठारु, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in *ile*, one in *iyá*, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पड़िया "having fallen," बसिया "having sat," धरिया "having seized." This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in *ile*, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhârat—

आन छले पुनः चाहे फिरिया फिरिया ॥
पिंजरेर पाखि मत बेड़ाय घुरिया ॥

"Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round,
Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."

—Bidyâ-S. 245.

literally, "having turned, having turned, looks," and "having twisted round, walks."

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending *i*, as वरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have *e*, as मले "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. ending *ia*. Less widely used is a form in *io* or *yo*, as मोट्यो "having returned," धोयो "having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted *jja* of Prakrit reappears here, as from खणणु "to lift," खणिजे "having lifted."

Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of करणु "to do," as वरी करे "having returned."

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in *i*, as होई "having become." Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition नें, often dropping the anuswâra, as करीनें or करीने "having done," देईने "having given." As G. makes no distinction between *i* and *ĭ*, this is often written with short *i*, as देइने.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in ऊन, as जाऊन "having gone," होऊन "having been." This is sometimes written ओन, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as ऊनियां, ओनियां, as तुम्हापाशीं अम्ही येऊनियां काय ॥ (Tuk. Abh. 1888) "What is the good of my going to you?" (literally, "I near you *having come*, what?") देखोनियां वस्त्रें भूषणांचें जन ॥ तात्काल मरण येतें मज। "*Having seen* men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once" (*ib.*).

This form is the old Maharashtri Pr. form in ऊण, shortened from तूण, Skr. त्वानं, accusative of त्वा (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtri Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtri that the conjunctive in *úṇa, tûṇa*, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. *-ya*; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, § 256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in *ine* from M. *úṇa*. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from *ú* to *i* in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that G. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Śastri Vrajlâl (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to M. for the origin of any G. form. The

latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Saurasenî for its parent, and the form in *-ine*, when compared with that in *i* in the same language, points clearly to the Saurasenî conjunctive in *ia* with a modern case-postposition *ne* or *nen* added.

§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the *Ba*, and the *Na* types respectively.

The *Ba* type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in—

जो विलंब करि रहै। तो ताहि हनिवे को आवै॥

"If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him."—Pr. R. i. 198.

उठि लरिवे कों धायौ॥

"Rising up, rushed to fight."—*ib.* i. 254.

It takes the junction-vowel *i*, and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered "to *or* for the purpose of fighting." This form does not once occur in the Ramaini (रमैनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तरिवे को "to cross over," चलैवो (चलाइवा) "to urge on," in the Rekhtas. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsi Das's Ramâyan, where, besides the form with junction-vowel *i*, as तोरिवे "to break," occurs also a shorter form in *ab*, as फिरब "to return." In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (*mâr* "strike"):—

Braj मारिबौं, East Rajput मारवो, West Rajp. *id.* Old-Pûrbi मारब, Avadhi, and Riwai *id.*

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus—

Sing. लाववो *m.*, लाववी *f.*, लाववुं *n.*

Pl. लाववा *m.*, °वी *f.*, °वां *n.* "to bring" or "the act of bringing."

and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52, where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as गावुं "to sing," करवुं "to do."

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as बसिबा "to sit," and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. बसिबार "of sitting," — एहि बसिबार जागा "this is a place of sitting," *i.e.* "a fit place to sit in."

Loc. बसिबारे "in sitting," — बसिबारे किछि हेब नहीं "in sitting nothing will become," *i.e.* "you will do no good by sitting still."

Acc. बसिबाकु "to *or* for sitting," — बसिबाकु हेब "for sitting it will become," *i.e.* "you will have to, *or* must, sit."

देखिबाकु आसिला "he came to see."

Abl. बसिबारु "from sitting," — सेठि बसिबारु सरदी लागिब "from sitting there a chill will attack," *i.e.* "if you sit there, you will catch cold."

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as होइते "to be" (lit. "in being"), थाकिते "to remain," जाइते "to go;" but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बीज रुपिबार काल आछे "It is the time of sowing, *or* for sowing, seed." More common still is its employment with जन्ये, कारण or निमित्ते "for the sake of," as देखिबार जन्ये "for the sake of seeing," करिबार निमित्ते "for the sake of doing."

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in *âva*, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes *kerâva* "to do," *lâva* "to take," *dâva* "to give," *sovâva* "to sleep," *mangâva* "to ask," *ruvâva* "to weep," which may be transliterated perhaps करावं, लावं, दावं, सोवावं, मंगावं, रुवावं respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-

parently drop the final *a* and shorten the *á*, as *chorav* "to steal" (चोरव), *kerav* "to do" (करव), *chinnav* "to tear" (चिनव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as *ao* (अओ or आओ?), as *jao* "to go" (जाओ), *hao* "to eat" (हाओ), *peo* "to drink" (पेओ).[1]

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the *Ba* form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तव्य, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The *Na* type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in *ana*, the other modern and classical in *nâ*. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in *anam*, as करणं "doing," पतनं "falling." It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुरुषातन तिन बंधन बिचारि ॥

"Having plotted *to stop* his virility."—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियौ चलन कौ साज ॥

"He made preparation *to go*."—*ib.* xx. 28.

जंग जुरन जालिम जुझार ॥

"*To join* battle a terrible warrior."—*ib.* xx. 31.

सत्य कहौं मोहि जान दे माई ॥

"I speak truth, suffer me *to go*, mother."—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम सैल बन देखन जाहीं ॥

"They go *to see* the hill and forest of Râm."—*ib.* Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanauji, as मारन "to strike." The other form in ना was anciently written नौं, and is always so written in Braj, as मारनौं "to strike," आवनौं "to come." This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

[1] Miklosich, Zigeuner Europa's, part ii. p. 9.

future participle in *antya*, so that from करणीयं, through Pr. करणीअं and करणअं, would come Old-H. करनीं, M. करणें, and P. करना. I, however, would refer the S. करण to the verbal noun in *anam*, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final *o* = *u* of the a-stem (see Hoernle's essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in *nâ*. That in *ana* is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the *nâ* form is declined as a noun in *â*, making its oblique in *e*, as *karne kâ* "of doing," *karne meṉ* "in doing." In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. *karaṇyâ châ* "of doing," dat. *karaṇyâ lâ* "to doing." In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in *anam* by exhibiting the declension of masculines (*i.e.* neuters) in *u*; the oblique ends consequently in *a*, as *ginhaṇa jo* "of buying," *ginhaṇa meṉ* "in buying," etc. This would not be the case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in *antya*.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in ऊं, as मरूं "to die," which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in *tum*, with elision of the *t*, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in *â*, as करा "to do," or "the act of doing," which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as या, the *y* of which is not pronounced; thus हओया

pronounced "hôwâ," देखोया "dewâ." The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तव्य.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in *nâ* is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाला, हारा; as करनेवाला "a doer," देखनेहारा "a seer." Of these the former is apparently Skr. पालक "protector, keeper." Thus Skr. गोपालक "cowherd," becomes H. ग्वाला; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धारक "holder," others from कारक "doer." I myself incline to the latter view; the क would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by ह, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp's opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as *hâro* or *hâru*=respectively *kâraka* and *kâra*, as in—

सिर्जणु "to create,"	सिरजणहारो (रु) "creator,"
लिखणु "to write,"	लिखणहारो (रु) "writer,"

also in its original form of *kâro* or *kâru*, with nouns, as झेडो "quarrel," झेडाकारु "quarreller."

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारन धारयं in Chand's first verse as confirming the derivation from धारक; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in वैया, as करवैया "a doer," रखवैया "a keeper," which is shortened from वारिया, a dialectic form of वाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form वारा is not uncommon in the poets. H. वाला may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or

the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect the original meaning of *pâlaka* is well preserved. Thus घोडेवाला "one who takes care of a horse." So also in P. घरवाला "husband," *i.e.* one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently घरवाली *f.* "wife." Sindhi changes ल to र *more suo*, and has वारो, as घरवारो "householder," from घर "house," and डिञणवारो "giver," from डिञणु "to give," H. देनेवाला.

Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a sort of future participle, in the verb हो "be." Thus—

होइ होनहार सीता हरन ॥

"The rape of Sita, *which was to be*, takes place."—Pr. R. iii. 27.

Also—

तें कछू होनहार पहचानिय ॥

"Thou knowing something of *futurity*."—*ib.* xxi. 92.

ह्वनहार एसी लषी । कही जु आल्ह उपाय ॥

"It is written thus as *destined to be*, the plan which Alha has spoken."
—*ib.* xxi. 94.

Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix वारी in words like पटवारी "a village accountant," the व being an indication of a lost क, from कारी (कारिन्) "doer."

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and appears simply as *ára*. In G. it is incorporated into one word with the verbal noun in *ana*, of which, except in this conjunction, no traces remain. Thus from होवुं "to be," comes होनार "one who is." But, just as in the Old-H. होनहार, the sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of agency, and *honár* now means "he who, *or* that which, is to be," as सत्ये होनार ते होय । शत वीना बीजुं नही कोय ॥ "That which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth there is nothing else" (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes the long *o*, as थनार or थनारो "that which is about to become," from थवुं "to become," शकनार "that which is able," from

शकवुं "to be able;" and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the *sa* type, but equally common. Thus एटला माटेज अमे तनें मारनार "For this very reason we are *about to kill* thee;" पोताना धर्मने कदी छोडनार नथी "He *will* never *forsake* his religion," in other words, "he is not a forsaker (H. छोडनेहारो) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;" हुं बीजाने मारीने शुख भोगवनारो हतो "Having killed another, *I was about to enjoy* happiness," literally, "I was becoming an enjoyer" (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in *ana* that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix *nâr* or *nâro*, so that *chhoḍanâro* is by them divided *chhoḍa-nâro*, instead of *chhoḍan(a)-(h)âro*.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, *ár*, *árâ*, are used, added to the infinitive in णें, to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from करणें come करणार "a doer," and करणारा, obl. करणारे. But these are used in the sense of "one who is about to do," as in G. So येणारे लोक is "the people who are coming," *i.e.* "who are expected to come." Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. कुंभकार, Pr. कुंभआर, M. कुंभार. Other grammarians, however, still speak of "the participle in णारा."

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in *wâlâ* (not *vâlâ*) is used in a future sense, as वुह जानेवाला था "he was just about to go." This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In O. one also hears a form in *wâlâ* added to the infinitive,

as पाइवाओयाला "a receiver." I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no *w* in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of य which it has as the last member of a nexus (the *ya-phala* as they call it), behind an ओ. They pronounce this extraordinary combination *wa*, and not *oya*, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying "the speaker," they would say, "he who speaks," or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in तृ.

B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a *nomen agentis*, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as कर्ता "doer," दाता "giver," used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.

§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. vol. xxiii. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my

undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb's action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresses the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto:

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Sindhi	1. मि	2. इ	3. सि.	1. ऊं, हूं	2. व	3. नि, न.
Persian	1. اَم	2. اَت	3. اَش.	1. مَا	2. شُمَا	3. شَان.
Pashto	1. me	2. de	3. e.	1. mu, um	2. mu	3. e.

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without effecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus—

Sing. 1. **आंऊं छड़िआं** "I let go," with suff. of 2 sing. **छडिआंइ** "I let thee go," **छड़िआंसि** "I let him go," with suff. of 2 pl. **छडिआंव** "I let you go," **छडिआंनि** "I let them go."

Sing. 2. **तूं छडिएं** "thou lettest go," with suff. of 1 sing. **छडिएंमि** "thou lettest me go," and so on.

Pl. 3. **हू छडिनि** "they let go," with suff. of 3 sing. **छडिनिसि** "they let him go," and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes **इजां** in the singular in this connection, not **इजे**, as **छडिजांमि** "Please to let me go," **छडिजांसि** "Please to let him go."

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third

person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, हुंदुसि "I shall be," *m.*, becomes हुंदोसां, and हुंदिअसि "I shall be," *f.*, becomes हुंदीसां. So that we get forms—

m. हुंदोसांद् "I shall be to thee," हुंदोसांसि "I shall be to him."
f. हुंदीसांव "I shall be to you," हुंदीसांनि "I shall be to them."

So, also, the plurals हुंदासों *m.*, and हुंदिऊंसों "we shall be," become respectively हुंदासूं and हुंदिऊंसूं. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person *m.* हुंदो is shortened to हुंदु, and *f.* हुंदी to हुंद or हुंद्; pl. *m.* हुंदा becomes हुंद्, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as हुंदासूं "they shall be to us," but हुंदव "they shall be to you;" pl. *f.* remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus—

1 Sing. *m.* होसि "I was," becomes होसां, as होसांद् "I was to thee."
„ *f.* ऊअसि „ „ ऊईसां, „ ऊईसांसि "I was to him."
1 Pl. *m.* ऊआसीं "we were," „ ऊआसूं, „ ऊआसूंनि "we were to them."
„ *f.* ऊयूंसीं " „ „ ऊयूंसूं, „ ऊयूंसूंव "we were to you."

The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction, a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S. be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus "I forsook thee," would be in H. मैं ने तुझ को छोडा, lit. "by me thee forsaken," where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative, case, the verb (*i.e.* participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in H. In M., which has a neuter,

the Bhâva or impersonal construction is used, as म्यां तुला सोडिलें "by me to thee released," as though it were *a me tibi relictum* (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word छडिओमांइ, *i.e. chhaḍio-mâṇ-i* = "forsaken-by me-thee." Thus there arises a long string of forms for every possible combination of the agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question further in Trumpp (p. 371):

छडिओमांसि "I have forsaken him."
छडिआंईंसि "he has forsaken him."
विहारिआंईंसि "he caused him to sit."
चिआंऊंसि "they said to her."
चिआंईंनि "she said to them."

The suffixes denoting the agent are ईं sing. and ऊं pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from ईन "by him," instr. of ही "this," and ऊनि "by them," instr. pl. of हू "that," respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with them the 3 sing. aorist of √अस् appears still in its old Pr. form of अथ (अत्थि), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form आहे is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say आहेमि and अथमि "there is to me," as in the line—

गुझी अथमि गालहडो आउ ओहे तां ओरीआं ॥

"*There is to me* a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it."
—Trumpp, p. 350.

It is used just as in Latin "est mihi," in the sense of "I have," as अथमि "I have," अथी (for अथइ) "thou hast," अथसि "he has," अथूं (for अथऊं) "we have," अथव "ye have," अथनि "they have." It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (*loc. cit.*)

that *atha* has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus किओ होइ "thou hadst made," जंहिं खिदमतगार (خدمتگار) खे अगे सेखारिओ हांईं (for हुआंईं) तंहिं डे निहाराईं "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say rispondete*mi* "answer *me*," parlate*gli* "speak *to him*," date*le* "give *her*," imaginar*lo* "to imagine *it*," offrite*ci* "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as assicurate*mene* "assure *me of it*," date*glielo* "give *it to him*," mandate*glielo* "send them to him."

So also in Spanish, vino á ver*me* "he came to see *me*," vengo á soccorrer*te* "I come to help *thee*," quiero castigar*os* "I will punish *you*," deje*me* "let me go," pasando*me* "*as I was* passing," escriba*le* "write *to him*," di*les* "tell them." Here, also, double

suffixes may be used, as decir*telo* "to tell *it thee*," mostrad*nosla* "show her to us."

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period.[1] It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.

§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels—*â*, *î*, *û*, *e*, *o*. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel *open* roots, and those which end in a consonant *close* roots. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with *û* or *o*, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before *â* and *e* there is sometimes inserted a य or व. As types may be taken the stems जा "go,"

[1] Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p.85, *et seqq.*

पी "drink," छू "touch," दे "give," and बो "sow." The aorist of these five is as follows :—

	SINGULAR.	
1. जाऊं	2. जाए, जावे, जाय	3. *id.*
1. पीऊं	2. पीए, पीवे	3. *id.*
1. छूऊं	2. छूए	3. *id.*
1. देऊं, दूं	2. देवे, दे	3. *id.*
1. बोऊं	2. बोए, बोवे	3. *id.*
	PLURAL.	
1. जाएं, जावें, जांय	2. जाओ	3. जाएं, जावें, जांय
1. पीएं, पीवें	2. पीओ	3. पीएं, पीवें
1. छूएं	2. छूओ	3. छूएं
1. देवें, दें	2. देओ, दो	3. देवें, दें
1. बोवें, बोएं	2. बोओ	3. बोवें, बोएं

The common stems *de* and *le* usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears *do* "give!" *lo* "take!" *dûngâ* "I will give," *lûngâ* "I will take," than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in *â*, य् is inserted before the *â* of the termination, as आ "come," p.p.p. आ-य्-आ (आया), पा "find," पाया, खा "eat," खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of व् we find य् commonly inserted. Thus, एहि बिधि राम सबहि समुझावा "In this way Ram explained to all" (Ay-k. 457). आवा "came," बनावा "made," पावा "found," गावा "sang," for आया, बनाया, पाया, गाया respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पढाया "caused to read," पाया "found," but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and आवा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter व is not used, thus आई "she came," बनाई "she made," fem. sing., आये, पाये masc. pl. As all

causals end in *á*, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an द् is inserted, as बनाइया. In the old *ha* future, the *á* of the stem and the initial *i* of the termination frequently coalesce into ऐ, as—

कछूक दिवस जननी धरु धीरा ॥
कपिन्ह सहित ऐहैं रघुबीरा ॥
निशिचर मारि तुमहिं ले जैहैं ॥
तिहुं पूर नारदादि जश गैहैं ॥

"For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubîr *will come* with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, *will carry* thee *off*;
The three worlds, Nârada and all *shall sing* his praise."
—Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where ऐहैं = आइहैं, जैहैं = जाइहैं, and गैहैं = गाइहैं; so also we find पैहैं "they will find," for पाइहैं, mod. पावेंगे (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पावहि, आवहि, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and future is regularly व, as जावे "he goes," जावेगा "he will go," but before *o* it is omitted, as जाओ "go ye," जाओगे "ye will go." For the past participle it is द्, as होइआ "been," masc. sing., and is omitted before *e*, as होए "been," masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the व is regularly inserted in pure P., but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and देगा is heard instead of the more characteristic देवेगा.

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel, those stems, which in other languages end in a consonant, having in that language a short *a* or *i*. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in अणु, a व् is inserted, as प "fall," infin. पवणु; नि "bow," infin. निवणु. Before the active infinitive in इणु no junction-letter is employed, as म "measure," infin. मइणु.

Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in *i* and *u*, and sometimes those ending in *o*, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी "drink," infin. पिअणु
पू "string," ,, पुअणु
धो "wash," ,, धुअणु
रो "weep," ,, रुअणु
हो "be," ,, हुअणु

but, on the other hand, ढो "carry," has infin. ढोअणु; and stems in *á*, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गाल्हा "speak," infin. गाल्हाइणु
फेरा "cause to turn," ,, फेराइणु.

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons व is inserted as in P., except before *u* or *o*; thus पवां "I fall," is declined—

Sing. 1. पवां 2. पवें 3. पवे. Pl. 1. पवूं 2. पवो 3. पवनि.

The व may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as चए "thou sayest," or "he says." The common verb डिअणु "to give," undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. डीं "thou givest," not डिएं, 3 pl. डीनि, not डिअनि.

Verbs ending in *á* insert य् before *á*, *u*, and *o*, as वुढायां "I grow old," वुढायूं "we grow old," वुढायां "yo grow old."

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are व and य, व is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as *u* and *o*, and य is omitted before *i* and *e*; before *á* both are employed, but preferentially व after short vowels, and य after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, व is either inserted or omitted, as—

पवणु "to fall,"	पवंदो "falling."
पिअणु "to drink,"	पिअंदो "drinking."
धुअणु "to wash,"	धुअंदो "washing."

Contraction also occurs, as चवणु "to speak," चूंदो (चवंदो) ऊअणु "to be," हूंदो (ऊअंदो) डिअणु "to give," डींदो (डिअंदो). The past participle regularly ends in ए॒ओ or यो, and the inserted व is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चवणु makes चयो, not चव्यो.
नवणु „ नयो „ नव्यो (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the *i* of the termination is dropped, as—

थिअणु "to become," थिओ, not थीओ = थि + ए॒ओ.
कुछणु "to speak," कुछो.
सोझणु "to inquire," सोझो.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic व of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चवणु "speak," *Imperative* चउ, Passive चइजणु "to be spoken."
पवणु "fall," „ पउ, „ पइजणु "to be fallen."

The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as—

पी "drink,"	पीजणु "to be drunk."
पू "string,"	पूजणु "to be strung."
धो "wash,"	धोइजणु "be washed."

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about G. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixed a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junction-letters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होये, होअ, होय written in-

differently, also छद्‌ये and छद्‌ए. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.

§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the य-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject.[1]

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the द्‌, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except *a* have here to be considered (khâ "eat," pî "drink," ghe "take").

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
1. खाईं	2. खाईस	3. खाई.		1. खाऊं	2. खा	3. खात.
1. पीईं	2. पीईस	3. पीई.		1. पीऊं	2. प्या	3. पीत.
1. घेईं	2. घेईस	3. घेई.		1. घेऊं	2. घ्या	3. घेत.

But in the 3 sing. घे, पी are used, so also देस, घेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final ई is elided. In 2 sing. both ई and ए are changed to the palatal semivowel before *â*, though not before *ú*, so that we have प्या, घ्या side by side with पीऊं (not प्यूं), घेऊं (not घ्यूं).

[1] For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punâ, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.

In the future there is similarly in 2 pl. खाल, प्याल, घ्याल, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. घ्या, प्या; ये "come," makes aorist 2 pl. या, future याल, and occasionally one hears ये aorist 3 sing. for the more regular येई.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as प्यावा, घ्यावा, but यावा simply from ये. This last verb should, by analogy, form य्यावा, but the double *y* in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single *y* is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the *e* of ये has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present वतें might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in तव्य renders this course impossible. The त of तव्य having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खादितव्यं, Pr. खाद्अव्वं gives खाववं, the first व supplying the place of the lost द्, so that in the potential we get not खावतें, but खाववतें. Similarly पीववतें, घेववतें, येववतें, and even in stems ending in ह, as लिह "write," लिहववतें.

Stems ending in *u* preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus *dhu* "wash"—

Aor. धुईं, धुईस, धुई; धुऊं, धुआ (but धुत).
Fut. धुईन, धुईल, धुऊं; धुआल, धुतील.
Subj. धुआवा or धुवावा.
Pot. धुववतें.

In the present participle only त is added, not ईत or अत, as खात, पीत, घेत, येत, धुत, and in the past participle the semivowel is generally used, as—

खा p.p. खाल्ला "eaten."
ले „ ल्याला "put on."
भी „ भ्याला "feared."
वि „ व्याला "brought forth."
पी „ प्याला or पिल्ला "drunk."

Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as चेतला, धुतला (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खाऊन, पीऊन, घेऊन, देऊन. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before *a* or *â*, but not before *i* or *û*. When the stem-vowel is *u* or *o*, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in धुवाक्, not ध्वावा. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that घे makes its past part. *yelo* or *ailo*, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. घे makes *gheilo* (perhaps घेइला), as well as *ghetlo* (घेतला). *Qhatã* (खा) makes *qhelo* (खेला) "outros dizem *qhailo*" (खाइला), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खाल्ला. Perhaps the author would call it a "marattismo." Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell,[1] that the termination of the p.p. consists of लो, ली, लें, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as बस्लो "sat" (M. बसला), पड्लें "fell" (M. पडला), राव्ली "remained" (M. राहिली), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

[1] Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore,

think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the *Aryan* spoken in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has, nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Konkani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pronunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to the probable extent and nature of those influences in former times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.

§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without any change. Thus যা "go" (pronounced *já*), makes—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Aorist.	1. যাই	2. যাইস	3. যায.	1. যাই	2. যাও	3. যান.

Present যাইতেছি, subjunctive যাইতাম, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in যান for যাএন, হন (hŏnŏ) for হোএন, and in the familiar verb দে "give," almost throughout; thus we have—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Aor.	1. দি	2. দিস	3. দেয.	1. দি	2. দেও	3. দেন
Pres.	1. দিতেছি, etc.					
Pret.	1. দিনু	2. দিলিস	3. দিল.	1. দিলাম	2. দিলে	3. দিলেন
Fut.	1. দিব	2. দিবি	3. দিবে.	1. দিব	2. দিবা °বে	3. দিবেন,

contracted from দেই, দেইতেছি, দেইনু, দেইব, etc., respectively. As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in

writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhârat Chandra, मजुन्दारे संगे निला घोडा चडाइया "He *took* Majumdâr along with him, having mounted him on a horse" (Mansingh, 417), where निला is for लइला, from लइते "to take." So he constantly uses कय for कहे "says," as कोटाल हासिया कय। कहिते लाज ना हय। "The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?" (Bidyâ-S. 356), also कब for कहिब, as हाय हाय कि कब विधिरे "Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?" (*ib.* 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as आगे दिला कतदुख मध्ये दिन कतसुख "First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure" (*ib.* 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both O. and B. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short *i*, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खाउ "wilt thou eat?" for खाइबु. In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from जा "go," we have जिबि "I will go," for जाइबि; from था "remain," infin. थिबा for थाइबा; पा "find," however, retains its vowel, as पाइलि, पाइबि, पाइबा. Also जा and था retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.

CONTENTS.—§ 80. Adverbs Nominal and Pronominal.—§ 81. Pronominal Adverbs of Time, Place, and Manner.—§ 82. Adverbs Derived from Nouns and Verbs.—§ 83. Conjunctions.—§ 84. Interjections.—§ 85. Postpositions.—§ 86. Conclusion.

§ 80. The seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336–38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbial in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are

capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them, as in H. तब की बात, lit. "the word of then," *i.e.* "the matter that took place then," अब के राजा/ लोग "the kings of now," *i.e.* "those of the present day."

§ 81. (I). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. अब, G. हवे, M. एव्हां, O. एवे. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेला "time," with the type of the demonstrative अ, इ, or ए. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एते वेळे, which is clearly the locative case of a masculine वेल, literally, "in so much time." G. has prefixed a ह, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with ह or अ; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. एह्मां also the ह seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for "now" in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with वेला.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in व; thus in Braj अबै, Marwari अमै, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एबेर, which approaches to the O. एवे. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as जब "whenever," तब "then," कब "when." Bhojpuri जेबेर, तेबेर, केबेर, Braj जबै, तबै, कबै. The Skr. forms यदा, तदा, कदा appear in H. जद, तद, कद, and in the dialectic forms, जदै, जदी, जदू, जदां, जद्यां; as also तदै, etc., कदै, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle ही or ह्व "indeed," of which more further on.

Panjabi ऊण, G. S. हाणे, B. एखन, and a dialectic form in O. उकुण, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. क्षण "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has जद्, तद्, कद्. S., however, has another type हिंअर, हेर "now," in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. काल "time," combined with the pronoun हिंअ "this;"

for the other members of the series it has जड़िहीं "whenever," तड़िहीं "then," कड़िहीं "when?" which arise from the Skr. यदा, etc., with the emphatic हीं, which has changed the preceding vowel into the *i* which is so common in S. They also write कड़ीं and कडेहिं as dialectic variations; also जां, तां (but not कां), where the द of यदा has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हवे, also हमणां, हवडां, and for the rest जेवारे, तेवारे, केवारे, commonly contracted into ज्यारे, etc., in which we see the Skr. वार "time." Owing to the G. peculiarity in respect of initial ह, we have also अमणां, and with a modernized form of Skr. अत्र "here," अत्यारे (अत्र वारे) "at this time," "now."

M. is consistent throughout एव्हां, जेव्हां, तेव्हां, केव्हां. In Old-M. forms जेधवां, etc., occur, showing that the modern व्ह *vh* is an inversion from ह्व *hv*. The suggested origin from Skr. कदा, by aspirating the द and adding आं, the termination of the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a series जंव, etc., meaning "while," "as long as," which recalls H. जब with inorganic anunâsika.

O. has the fuller forms, जेते वेळे, etc., and जेवे explained above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if not more so. "Time is made for slaves," and not for Oriyas.

B. जखन, तखन, etc., uniformly, pronounced *jökhön* or *jökhönŏ*, etc. H. adds constantly ही for emphasis, as अभी "now" (अबही), कभी "sometimes" (कबही), and with the negative कभी नहीं "never."

For the indefinite pronominal adverb "ever," "sometimes," the other languages have, P. कदी (कदही), कदों, कदे, S. कडहीं, G. कदी, M. कधीं, B. कखन, O. केवे, केवेहिं. All these are repeated to signify "sometimes," as P. कदी कदी, M. कधीं कधीं.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive time, whether past, as "since," or future "until," the adverbs above given are used as nouns with case-affixes. Thus H. अब से "from now," "henceforth," तब से "thenceforth," कब से

"since when?" जब से "from the time when," or with the older affix तें in the poets, as in जब तें राम व्याहि घर आये। "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. जदों, S. जड़िहाको, जड़िहोको, जड़िहाकर; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कर्, which we may connect with काल "time," as in हिंअर "now." The long *â* or *o* of *jaḍihâ*, *jaḍiho*, as contrasted with the *i* of जड़िहीं, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमणाथों "henceforth," अत्यारथीं, and apparently also ज्यारथीं, and the rest of the series. They also say अत्यार पछी "henceforth." M. uses मग or मागें, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. लगि, लौं, लौ, in modern H. लग, तलक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तव लगि कष्ट दरिद्र तन ॥
तव लगि लघु मुहि गात ॥
जव लगि हौं आयौ नहीं ॥
तो पाइ न सेवात ॥

"Till then, pain and poverty of body,
Till then, my limbs were light (*i.e.* mean),
So long as I came not to thee,
And worshipped not at thy feet.—Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate जब लगि by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi जब तक राम घर को नहीं आवे "So long as Râm comes not home," *i.e.* "until he comes," and the same in P.

S. has हेसीं or एसींताईं "up to this time," ओसीं or होसींताईं "up to that time," where ताईं, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. स्थाने, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." सीं, I suppose, is a contraction of समय "time."

(2). Pronominal adverbs of place.—See list in Vol. II. p. 336.

The Hindi series यहां, वहां, जहां, तहां, कहां, is composed of the pronominal bases with हां, which we are justified in referring to Skr. स्थाने; thus तहां = तत्स्थाने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari अठै, अठी, ईठै "here," उठै, etc., "there," Avadhi एठियां, ओठियां, Bhojpuri एठां, एठाईं. But the Braj इतै, इत, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series अत्र, तत्र, etc. The Bundelkhandi form याजी is probably only another way of pronouncing याईं, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as खसाञि for खसाईं (modern खसाइया). To *sthâne*, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms इत्थे, उत्थे, etc. S. has not only इति, जिति, etc., which may come from अत्र, यत्र, but इत्थे, which agrees with P., and हिते, which is, I suspect, like हिकिडो "one," an instance of a ह being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms अंहीं, आहां, हहीं, अहीआं "here," and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms ज्यां, त्यां, क्यां, and even जां, तां, कां, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series येथें, जेथें, etc., where the final anuswâra, like that of Bhojpuri एठाईं, preserves the *n* of *sthâne*. But कोठें "where," has the cerebral.

O. having first made *sthâna* into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठारे, in एठारे, सेठारे. The final रे is often dropped, and एठा, सेठा, or even shortened एठि, सेठि are used. B. uses खाने, which seems to come from स्थाने on the analogy of खंभो = स्तंभ (Var. iii. 14) and खाणु = स्थानु (*ib.* iii. 15). For "where," however, it has a more regular form कोथा, in older Bengali कोथाय, as तार मत सन्यासिनी पाइब कोथाय "Where shall I find a female saint like her?" (Bharat, Bidyá-S. 399), where the final य for ए is a relic of the *e* of *sthâne*. We also find हेथा and हेथाय "here," etc.

In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. कहां से "from where?" "whence?" G. आंहां थी "hence," P. कित्यों "whence?" But this practice is only in force to imply motion *from* a place. To express motion *towards* a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is धर, as इधर "hither," उधर "thither." The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has एम्हर, उम्हर, as also एने, उने, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears एन्हर, हेमर, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Rîwâ एहैं कैत, एहैं कयोत, or एहैं मुंह. If we take the original of all these forms to be धर, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. म्होर "face," G. मोहडुं *id.*, a diminutive from Skr. मुख, so that the older adverbial element would be म्हर, as in Bhojpuri, whence न्ह, which would, by a natural process, glide into न्धर and धर. For the Rîwâ form I can suggest no origin.

The S. and M. forms seem to be connected, and with them I would associate the common O. expressions ए आड़े "in this direction," "hither" (ओ आड़े, को आड़े, etc.), which are locatives, and ए आड़ु, etc., "from this place," "hence," which are ablatives. The Sindhi adverb, as usual in that language, is written in a dozen ways, but the simplest form is एड़े "hither," and एड़ां "hence," which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form इकडे "hither," locative, where the adverbial portion is कड "a side," said to be from Skr. कट "hip, loin." It has also an ablative series इकडून "hence." May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non-Aryan brethren? There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type *aḍḍa*, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give √अड्ड "to join," also "to stop." On the other hand, Telugu has *ikkaḍa* "here," *ikkaḍiki* "hither," which looks very like M. *ikaḍe*. So, also, in Telugu *akkaḍa* "there." All the Dravidian languages have a root *aḍḍ*, which,

in various forms, has a range of meanings such as "to be near," "close," "to cross," "to stop," and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the O. expression आड़ is a noun meaning "direction," and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.

(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.—The Hindi series यौं, ज्यौं, त्यौं, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms यूं and क्यूं, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has ऊं, इऊं "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, वौं or वूं. Mewari adds कर and गा, as ईंकर, ईंगा "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. कृ and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have क्यूंकर "how?" and in Chand and the poets करि or कद् (के) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form इम or इमि, जिमि, तिमि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in यों, as यों भयौ रिषि अवधूत। "*Thus* the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), त्यौं इह कथा प्रमाणं॥ ज्यौं जानि कोविदं लोगं॥ "*Thus* this story is proved, *as* learned folk know" (*ib.* xiii. 5), पद्मावती इम ले चल्यौ। हरषि राज प्रथिराज। "King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (*ima*) led away Padmâvatî," (*ib.* xx. 35), तहां सु केम किज्जै गमन। "*How* can one go there?" (*ib.* i. 90). Tulsi Das has इमि, जिमि, etc., as in तन पसेउ कदली जिमि कांपी "Her body was in a sweat, she trembled *as* a plantain-tree (trembles)."—Ram. Ay-k. 131.

M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as असें, जसें, तसें. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमन, एमत, एमने, एमते, "thus," जेमन, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमति, जेमति, locatives; also

ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, जेम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative आम. This series is sometimes written ज्यम, त्यम, क्यम, but जेम is the more common, as in कीर्ति यह नऊ नी विस्तीर्ण जेम सूरज ना पसरे कीर्ण ॥ "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premânand in *K.-D.* ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. इमि, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form इंव, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. इऊं and ऐऊं *aiũ*, and the full series जिऊं, तिऊं, किऊं, as well as one without the *i*, जऊं, तऊं, etc., to which is allied H. ज्यौं, etc., for जिउं. S. rejects the labial element in इंञ, हींञ, ईएं, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in मत् or वत्. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. केमन्त, सेमन्त, for मन्तो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत्, just as वन्तो is of वत् in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

इयान्, इयती, इयत् "so much,"
कियत् "how much?"
एतावान्, °वती, °वत् "so much,"
यावत् "as much as."

But the affixes *mat* and *vat* imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg's suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in *tha*, of which only *ittham* and *katham* are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for

the Old-Purbi and G. forms, as well as for those in B. and O. Also the S. form इंअ seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier *emana*, through *enan*, than to *ittham*, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswâra as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of *tth*. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswâra to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have a म just where the anuswâra in S. occurs, it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other, and the final anuswâra in H. and P. as the same, pushed one syllable forwards, so that H. ज्यौं would be for an older form जिउ. As the change, whatever it was, was completed before our earliest writer Chand's days, there is no actual proof forthcoming.

§ 82. Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs.—Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol. II. p. 296, which are either postpositions or adverbs, according to the connection in which they are used. In either case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. Some are peculiar to one or two languages, while others are common, in one form or another, to the whole group. I do not, of course, undertake to give them all, but only a selection of those most commonly used, so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect. There are, for instance, H. आगे "before," and पीछे "behind," which are used adverbially in the sense of "formerly" and "afterwards" respectively, that is, with reference to time, and in this sense take, like the pronominal adverbs, the case-affixes, as आगे की बात "the former matter," lit. "the matter of formerly," पीछे के दुख मैं कहूंगा नहीं "I will not tell the suffering that followed," lit. "the suffering of afterwards." So also with नीचे "below," and the other words given at Vol. II. p. 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H. आज "to-day," P. अज्ज, S. अजु, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. अद्य; also H. कल from Skr. कल्यं "dawn." This word has two meanings,

it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms काल, कालि, काल्ह, and कल्ह (see Vol. I. p. 350). As the Skr. means only "dawn" in general, it is used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning past is employed when "yesterday" is intended, and a word meaning future when "to-morrow" is implied. It also takes case-affixes, as कल की लडाई में घायल हुआ "He was wounded in *yesterday's* battle," but कल की लडाइ में जदि घायल हुंगा "If I shall be wounded in *to-morrow's* battle." G. काले, S. कल्ह, काल्ह, M. काल.

So also are used the following:—Skr. परःअस् "the day after to-morrow." In the moderns it has also the sense "the day before yesterday," as H. परसों, and dialects परसौं, परहौं, परों. P. परसों, S. परिंहं, परिंहंकी, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परम, M. परवां. O. has पर always in combination with दिन, and where the sentence does not of itself sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words "gone" and "coming" to express it more clearly, गत पर दिन "the day before yesterday," and आसंता पर दिन "the day after to-morrow."

H. goes a step further still, and has तरसों "three days ago," or "three days hence," where the first syllable is probably Skr. त्रि "three." Similarly S. तरिंहं, but also with rejection of initial त, अरिंहं. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. अतरसों, तरौं, तरों. In H. we have even a still further नरसों "four days ago," which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from अन्य, as though it were for अन्य तरसों "another day (besides) three days ago."

H. सवेर "early," "betimes," and अवेर, or more usually अबेर "late," are Skr. स and अ, compounded with वेला respectively. S. सवेर and अवेर, also अवेल, besides the adjectivally used forms सवेरो and सवारो, as well as अवेलो. In this sense is also used H. सकाले, सकारे, O. and B. *id.*; in O. it is frequently used in

the sense of "early in the morning," also "early *to-morrow* morning," as आजि जाइ पारिबुं नहिं सकाले जिबुं "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses तडके, conjunctive participle of तडना "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also भोर "dawn" is used in H. and O., भोरे in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has वाहाणो, M. उद्यां (Skr. उदय "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. प्रभाते, B. *id.*, G. परभाते, of which the Oriyas make पाहान्ते "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पाहा. The H. भोर is probably connected with the Skr. √भा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मळसके "at dawn," probably connected with मळवुं "to meet," and, like Skr. सन्ध्या, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. √त्वर्, principally from the p.p.p. त्वरितम्, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. तुरंत, M. तूर्त, G. तुरत, तरत, त्वरीत, S. तुर्तु, O. B. तुरंत, त्वरित. M. has a peculiar word लवकर "at once, quickly," Skr. लव (√लू "to cut") "a minute," M. लवणें "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. झट "quick!" reduplicated झटपट, M. झट्कन, S. झटिपटि and चटिपटि, O. झट, झटपट, B. झटि, from Skr. झटिति. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तत्काल, O. and B. तत् खणात्, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word अचानक; H. also अचांचक "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. अचाचेते, ओचितो, pointing to a derivation from अ and √चिन्त् "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमत्कार, H. चौक, in this connection. O. and B. use हठात्, literally ablative of Skr. हठ, meaning "by force." It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. एकाएक "all of a sudden," M. एकाएकीं, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each

language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in ड, as आडो "opposite," ओडो "near," ओडिरो diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also वेझो "near," with its diminutive वेझिरो. सूधो "accompanied by," O. सुधा, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. सार्द्धं "with," and सञ्रों "near," to सहित, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition से in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सित, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes आहो and आरो are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus—

ओरे "on this side,"	ओराहों "somewhat on this side."
आगे "in front,"	आगाहों "somewhat in front."
पोइते "behind,"	पोइताहों "somewhat behind."
मथे "upon,"	मथाहों "somewhat higher up."
मंझे "in,"	मंझाहो / मंझारो "somewhat inside."

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi मझार used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending आहीं, as अगाहीं, मथाहीं.[1]

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

पुञ्रां / पुञ्रों "from behind,"	abl. of पोउ "the rear."
पुठिञ्रां "from behind,"	„ पुठि "the back."

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.

मथां "from upon,"	abl. of मथो "the head."
मथे *id.*	loc. of *id.*
मागे "at all,"	„ माग़ु "place."
मूरि "completely,"	„ मूरु "capital," "stock-in-trade."
मूरहिं / मूराईं	*id.* abl. of *id.*
महंदि "before,"	loc. of महंदु "beginning."
महंदां *id.*	abl. of *id.*
पारे "on the other side,"	loc. of पारु "the other side."
पारां "from the other side,"	abl. of *id.*
अंदरे "within,"	loc. of अंदरु "the inside."
अंदरां / अंदसें "from within,"	abl. of *id.*
विचे "in the midst,"	loc. of विचु "the midst."
हडे / हडेहीं "at all,"	„ हडु "the core."
हेठे "below,"	„ हेठु "the bottom."
हेठां "from below,"	abl. of *id.*

Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has अनत "elsewhere," Skr. अन्यत्र, निकट "near," also नेरे (dialectically नेरु and नेरौ); परे "on the other side," भीतर "within," Skr. अभ्यन्तरे, बाहिर, बाहर "outside," Skr. बहिस्, and others.

M., like S., has मागें, but in the sense of "before," also पुढें "before," पल्याड "beyond," वर "above," जवळ "near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.—While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,

and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as *âge* "before," *pichhe* "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbially, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbially by being undeclined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp :[1]

ओचितोऽ कुए हिकिडे उन भांडे जे भरि में वऽ किओ

"By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here *ochito-î* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic *î*, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject *kue* "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbially.

तडिहीं जऽ हारे जाल घणो रोऽ माउ वरिओसि

"Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here *ghaṇo* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with *mâû* "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

लुकूं लगनि कोसिऊं डाढा तपनि डींह

"The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; लुकूं "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and कोसिऊं "hot" agrees with it, so also डींह

[1] Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.

"days," is nom. sing. masc. and डाढा "fierce, excessive" (Skr. दृढ), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, "the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn."

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in एं M. and उं G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute *a*, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in *á* masc. and *í* fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.

§ 83. Conjunctions.—In Hindi the common word for "and" is और, Old-H. अरु, अवर, from Skr. अपर "other." In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. ओ, O. अउ. In B., however, एवं, pronounced *ebong*, is very common; and आर "also." P. अते, often shortened into ते, probably from Skr. अंते "at the end," "afterwards," as well as अर (अपर). S. अउं, अदं, ईं or ए, in which the fondness of S. for the *i*-sound comes out. G. uses generally तथा literally "then." It has besides ए and ओ for "also," which belong to the group from अपर. G. अने, shortened ने, I am disposed to connect with P. अते, and ascribe to Skr. अंते. In the former case the त has been lost, in the latter the न. It may, however, be allied to M. आणि, अणखी "and," from Skr. अन्य "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction व is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. च has left no descendants. The Gipsies use *te* or *ta*, which agrees with P., also *u*, which is Persian و.

"Also."—H. भी, Skr. अपि हि, Pr. वि हि. The various steps from अपि downwards are all retained in S. पि, वि, भि (for विहि), and भी. The other forms पुणु, पुणि, पिणि, are from Skr. पुनर् "again," and show a gradual change from the *u* to the *i*, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. नाठें means literally "near to," locative of नाठ "near." G. पण, meaning also "but," is from पुनर्. B. uses ओ, and O. भि.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words लेकिन لیکن, बलकि بلکہ, and Porsian मगर مگر; and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्तु, as well as वरण (Skr. वरं). In Hindi पर (Skr. परं) is also used, and in P., which also uses अपर, and a strange form ऐपर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means "rather than this." P. has also मगवां, मगों, probably corruptions of مگر. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हथां, S. हथा, हथो, and emphatic हथांईं and हथोंईं "but rather." These are ablatives from हथ, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर "but," and पण, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मगरि, having added a final *i* to مگر. G. and M., in addition to पण, use also परंतु, O. किन्त and पर, B. किन्तु and वरं.

"Or."—H. वा, अथवा, which are Skr., with व for व. The Arabic या ﻳﺎ is very common, and commoner still is कि, probably shortened from Skr. किंवा. This कि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it के, where *e* is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization कीं, also using अथवा, as does G. P. के, अथवा, and या. S. के and को. B. uses several varieties of किंवा, as किम्बा, किवा, कि, and वा, also अथवा. O. the same.

"If."—Skr. यदि, generally pronounced and written जदि, is universal. H. shortens it into जद and जे (=जद्, with loss of द्) and जो, by rejection of final *i*, and द goes out, its place

being supplied by व and उ; thus जद्=जव=जउ=जो. Persian अगर اگر is also very common. P. जे and जेकर. This last introduces कर for करि "having done." S. जे.

"Although."—Skr. यद्यपि is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is जो भी "if even." P. has भावें, literally "one may think," or "it may seem." B. also uses जदि ओ "if even." S. तोडे, तोणे, sometimes with जे prefixed, जे तोडे; this, too, is literally "if even," for तोडे alone is used to mean "either," "even," and is apparently really the correlative तो (तउ=तदि) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. जो पण "but if." In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. जो or जो भी answers तो or तो भी "then," or "even then;" to P. भावें answers तां भी; to G. जो पण, answers तो पण, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तथापि "yet."

"Because."—H. क्यूंकि literally "for why." B. and O. use Skr. कारण "cause," and जे हेतु or जे हेतुक. G. माटे, probably Skr. माचिके, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of "only," "merely," "for the simple reason that." G. has also केमके "for why," and shorter कांके. S. जेलां, जेल्हं, where the last syllable is for लाइं "for" (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with छा "why?" as छाजो, छा लाइ, and छो ता, छो जो. The correlatives "therefore," etc., take the त form तेला "etc."

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.

§ 84. Interjections.—The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and

other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are हे, हो, अहो, ओ "Ho!" or "Oh!" हे is used to superiors, as हे धर्मावतार "O incarnation of justice!" which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, हे प्रभु "O Lord!" हे पिता "O father!" हो, अहो, and ओ, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by आ, आह, हाए, हा हा, अहह "alas!" whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally "twice alas!" One often hears *dohâe khudâwand, dohâe Angrez Bahâdur*, which is as much as to say "grant me justice," or "listen to my complaint." Others are छि छि "fie!" चुप "hush!" ऊह, ओह "ah!" a cry of pain; थू थू disgust; हत तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indelicacy about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning "begone," and at times with a menacing tone "how dare you?" I suspect the word now spelt हत was originally हट from हटना "to go away," "be stopped," and तेरी the feminine genitive of तू "thou," is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी मा "thy mother." Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other "âh, terî mâ," "oh thy mother." The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other's female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word साला or श्याला "brother-in-law," has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite

interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simple-minded Panjabi says "wâh! wâh!" to every new thing he sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, "*wâh wâh! fatih guru jî!*"

All the other languages have these common interjections, several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less corrupted. Thus the Persian شاد باش *shâd bâsh*, "be joyful!" is used everywhere as a term of encouragement, "well done!" and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly without the د, as *shabâsh*, *shabâshe*, *sabâs*, according to the language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, अडे, अरे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form अडी, डी, री. Dr. Caldwell shows[1] that this word is also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to mean "O slave!" Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows it as used in addressing (sambhâshaṇe), and in dalliance (ratikalahe). For reproach (kshepe) he prescribes हरे. I do not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and has there, to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is often used merely to call attention, and in friendly condescension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a form अवे, used also in the same tone. The interchange of ड and र need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

[1] Dravidian Comparative Grammar, p. 440 (first edition).

Dravidian group it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. रे is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses लो, and B. गो. Thus O. आस लो, मा बजारकु जिबा "Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;" B. निवेदये धनी शुन गो जननि "The lady entreats, 'hear me, oh my mother'" (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). लो, ओलो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of लोगो, from Skr. लोक in the sense of "person," the word लोग or लोगाई being used to indicate the women of the speaker's family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.

§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus बाहिर "without" (Skr. बहिस्) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as घर के बाहिर "outside the house," or even without the genitive sign, as द्वार बाहिर "outside the door." So also पार "across," "on the other side of," is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase नदी पार "across the river," "on the other side of the river." So also समेत "with," "accompanied by," as सूर सामंत समेत "accompanied by his peers and paladins," the meaning of the postposition from सम् + आ + इ requires this construction.

बीच "in," "in the middle of," सिरे "at the end of" (Skr. शिरस्), कणे "near to," "at the house of" (Skr. कर्ण), संग "with," हाथ "by means of," हां "at," "at the house of"

(Skr. स्थाने),[1] are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has कोळ "near," literally, "in the bosom of," कोळों "from the side of," विच् "in," which is the regular sign of the locative, पार "on the other side," and पार वार "on both sides" (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are भर or भरि "on," "leaning on" (Skr. भर), where in H. भर rather means "full," as कोस भर "a full *kos*;" तोड़ि and तोणि "up to," which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोड़ु "end;" जां, जिअ, जींअ, जिएं, "like" (Skr. यथा); ड़ां, ड़ांह, ड़े "towards," with an ablative form ड़हां "from the direction of" (perhaps from Skr. दिश्); रे, रिअ, "without" (Skr. ऋते); सां, साणु, सें, सेणु "with" (Skr. सम; cf. B. सने).

S. सूधां "along with," H. सूधा and सुधा "with," O. सुधा or सबु सुधा "together with," "all taken together," from Skr. सार्द्धम्, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. शुद्ध, in the sense of संशुद्ध "completed."

S. सींअ "up to," "till" (Skr. सीमा), P. सीं and सीउं, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

[1] Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which I, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with yahâṇ "here." There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.

Of the second class are वाझां, वाझूं, वाझों "without," P. वाझ, वाझों *id.* This rather means "owing to the absence of," as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरिह भान्या सेल्ह देखण वाझों दोस जे "Then they were considered by the hero as therein *in the absence of* his friend." It is probably connected with Skr. √बंध् in the sense of being bound or impeded. बिना "without" (Skr. विना), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. विना, and G. विना and वना (*viná, vaná*).

S. लाइ and लइ "for the sake of," correspond to H. P. लिये, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in S. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus उस लिये "for that reason," but उस के लिये "for the sake of him."

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus आडो "in front," may take the accusative. It is probably like O. आदी "in the first place," or with a negative आदी न "not at all," "at no time;" thus आदी सेठि गला नहि literally "to begin with, he did not go there," that is to say, "he never went there at all," locative of Skr. आदि "beginning."

अंदरि "within," Skr. अंतर्, but more probably from Persian اَنْدَر. ओडो "near to," धारां "apart, without," काणे "for the sake of," contracted from कारणे; मथे "upon," loc. of मथो "head," वांगे "like to," वेझो "near to," are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are वर "on" (Skr. उपरि), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as घरावर "on

the house," उद्यांवर "till to-morrow." A longer form is वरता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up." Others are बाहेर "out," आंत "in," कडे "at," कडून "by means of," वांचून "without," विषयीं "about," "concerning," literally "in the matter (of)," मागें "behind," "formerly," पुढें "before," "in future," खालीं "under."

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.

§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru'lkais sings—

وَ ما المَرءُ ما دامَت حُشاشةُ نَفسهِ
بِمُدرِكِ أَطرافِ الخُطوب ولا آلِ

FINIS.

INDEX.

The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

Note.—When the anuswâra precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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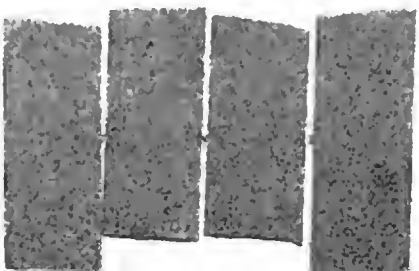

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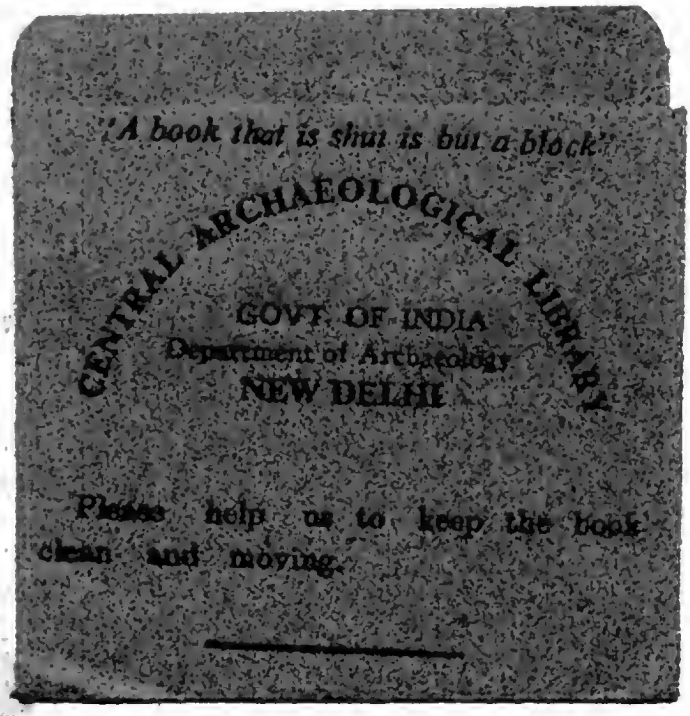
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THE VERB.

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

STRUCTURE OF VERBAL STEMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 1. Structure of the Sanskrit Verb.—§ 2. Beginnings of the Analytical System in Sanskrit.—§ 3. Conjugations of the Pali Verb.—§ 4. Tenses of the Pali Verb.—§§ 5, 6. The Verb in Jaina Prakrit.—§ 7. Scenic Prakrit Verb.—§ 8. Apabhraṇça Verbal Forms.—§ 9. The Modern Verbal Stem.—§ 10. Phases of the Verb.—§ 11. Single and Double Stems.—§ 12. Single Neuter Stems from Sanskrit *BHŪ* Roots.—§ 13. The same from other Classes of Sanskrit Roots.—§ 14. Modern Neuter Stems from Sanskrit Passive Past Participles.—§ 15. Single Active Stems.—§ 16. Treatment of Sanskrit Roots ending in a Vowel.—§ 17. The Stem *DEKH*.—§ 18. Double Verbs.—§ 19. Sindhi Double Stems Differing in the Final Consonant.—§ 20. Double Stems Differing in Vowel and Final Consonant.—§ 21. Double Stems Differing only in the Vowel.—§ 22. Examples and Illustrations.—§ 23. Laws of the Formation of Modern Stems.—§ 24. The Passive Intransitive.—§ 25. The Passive.—§ 26. The Causal.—§ 27. The Passive Causal.—§ 28. The Causal in a Neuter Sense.—§ 29. Secondary Stems.—§ 30. Reduplicated and Imitative Stems.—§ 31. Gipsy Verbal Stems.

§ 1. The Sanskrit verb, with its long array of tenses, intricate phonetic changes, and elaborate rules of formation, seems to have been subjected at a very early period to processes of

simplification. Indeed, we may be permitted to hold that some, at least, of the forms laid down in the works of Sanskrit grammarians, were never actually in use in the spoken language, and with all due deference to the opinions of scholars, it may be urged that much of this elaborate development arose in an age when the speech of the people had wandered very far away from the classical type. Even if it were not so, even if there ever were a time when the Aryan peasant used polysyllabic desideratives, and was familiar with multiform aorists, it is clear that he began to satisfy himself with a simpler system at a very distant epoch, for the range of forms in Pali and the other Prakrits is far narrower than in classical Sanskrit.

Simplification is in fact the rule in all branches of the Indo-European family of languages, and in those we are now discussing, the verb follows this general law. To make this clear, it may be well to give here, as a preliminary matter, a slight sketch of the structure of the verb as it stands in the Sanskrit and Prakrit stages of development.

In that stage of the Sanskrit language which is usually accepted as the classical one, the verb is synthetical throughout, except in one or two tenses where, as will be hereafter shown, the analytical method has already begun to show itself. By separating the inflectional additions, and unravelling the euphonic changes necessitated by them, we may arrive at a residuum or grammarian's abstraction called the root. These roots, which have no real existence in spoken language, serve as useful and indispensable pegs on which to hang the long chain of forms which would otherwise defy all attempts at reducing them to order. Some writers have lately thought fit to sneer at the philologist and his roots, and have made themselves merry over imaginary pictures of a time when the human race talked to each other in roots only. These gentlemen set up a bugbear of their own creation for the purpose of

pulling it to pieces again. No one, as far as I am aware, has ever asserted that at a given period of the world's history a certain race of men used such words as *bhû*, *gam*, or *kar*, till some one hit on the ingenious device of adding to *bhû* the word *ami*, and, modifying *bhû* into *bhava*, burst upon his astonished countrymen with the newly-discovered word *bhavâmi*, "I am." What has been asserted, and truly too, is that in Sanskrit we find a large number of words expressing the idea of "being," in which the consonantal sound *bh* is followed by various vowels and semivowels, which, according to phonetic laws, spring from the vowel *û*, and that as, for scientific purposes, some common generic term is required to enable us to include under one head all parts of the verb, we are justified in putting together these two constant unvarying elements, and so obtaining a neat technical expression *bhû*, to which, as to a common factor, can be referred all the words expressive of "being" in its relations of time, person, and condition. Analysis and arrangement of this sort is an essential part of every science, and the native grammarians had done this *such* work for us before European skill was brought to bear on the subject.

Verbal roots, then, are grammarians' tickets, by which actual spoken words are classified and arranged in groups for convenience of investigation. The roots in Sanskrit are mostly monosyllabic, consisting of a consonant followed by a vowel, as *bhû*, *yâ*, *nî*, or of a vowel followed by a consonant, as *ad*, *ish*, *ubh*, or of a vowel between two consonants, as *kar*, *gam*, *pat*. Roots may also consist of a single vowel, as *i*, and in the place of a single consonant there may be a nexus, as *grah*, *pinj*, *mlai*. Those roots which have more than one syllable are usually of a secondary nature, being in some cases produced by reduplication, as *jâgar*, in others made from nouns, as *kumâr*.

Each verbal root presents six phases or grades of action: active, neuter, passive, causal, desiderative, intensive. All these are distinguished by certain modifications of the letters

of the root, and by certain prefixed and affixed syllables. Thus भू *bhû*, "to be," undergoes the following modifications:

Active / *Neuter*	bhava.
Passive	bhûya.
Causal	bhâvaya.
Desiderative	bubhûsha.
Intensive	bobhûya.

The causal also is in some cases treated as primary stem, and gives rise to subsidiary forms; thus from *pâtaya* "cause to fall," is made a passive *pâtya*, whence comes a desiderative causal *pipâtayisha*.

Each of these six phases may be conjugated throughout thirteen tenses, in each of which are nine forms representing the three persons of the singular, dual, and plural. It rarely happens in practice that any one verbal root exhibits the whole of these forms, but if we regard the general type, we may fairly say that a Sanskrit verb, as an individual entity, is an aggregate of seven hundred and two words, all agreeing in expressing modifications of the idea contained in the root-syllable, which is the common inheritance of them all.[1] Of the thirteen tenses, nine are conjugated according to certain rules which, with some exceptions, hold good for all verbs in the language, but the remaining four tenses are subject to rules by which they are divided into ten classes or conjugations. These four are the present, imperfect, imperative, and optative; and before we can determine what form a verbal

[1] Namely, 6 phases × 13 tenses × 9 persons = 702. But this is an extreme calculation, for the Subjunctive (Leṭ) is only found in Vedic Sanskrit; and the two forms of the Perfect (Liṭ) may be regarded as variations of the same tense. Thus the number of tenses may be reduced to ten, viz. Present (Laṭ), Imperfect (Laṅ), Optative (Liṅ), Imperative (Loṭ), Perfect (Liṭ), Aorist (Luṅ), Future (Lṛṭ), Conditional (Lṛṅ), Second Future (Luṭ), Benedictive (âśir Liṅ). By this reckoning the number of forms would be 6 × 10 × 9 = 540.

root can take in any of these tenses, we must know what conjugation it belongs to.

Inasmuch also as the Sanskrit grammarians class the active and neuter phases together, we must find out which of these two phases any given verb employs, for the terminations of the tenses and persons are different. Some verbs employ both, but the majority are conjugated only in one of the two, and as there is no rule as to which of the two is to be used, the dictionary is our only guide. The active, or Parasmaipada, as it is called, stands to the neuter, or Âtmanepada, in the same relation as the active in Greek does to the middle voice, and the resemblance is the greater, in that the Âtmanepada, like the middle voice in Greek, uses the terminations of the passive.

Although each of the seven hundred and two words which make up the complete typical Sanskrit verb contains the common root-syllable, yet this syllable does not appear in the same form in each word, but is subject to certain euphonic and other influences which affect both the vowels and consonants composing it, and often materially alter its shape. Thus the verbal root *KAR*, "do," appears in classical Sanskrit in the following forms:

1. ऋ *Ṛi*, in 1 du. pf. Par. *chakṛiva*, 1 pl. id. *chakṛima*, 2 s. pf. Âtm. *chakṛishe*, 1 du., 1 and 2 pl. id. *chakṛivahe, chakṛimahe, chakṛiḍhve;* in the whole of the 1 aor. Âtm., as *akṛishi, akṛithâḥ, akṛita*, etc.; in the pass. part. *kṛitaḥ*, and gerund *kṛitvâ*, and in the benedictive Âtm., as *kṛishîshṭa*, etc.

2. क्रि *kri*, in bened. Par., as *kriyâsam, kriyâḥ, kriyât*, etc., and in the passive present, as *kriye, kriyase, kriyate*, etc.

3. कर् *kar*, in pres. Par., as *karômi, karoshi, karoti*, and before all weak terminations.

4. कुर् *kur*, in pres. Âtm., as *kurve, kurushe, kurute*, and before strong terminations.

5. कार् *kâr*, in pf. Par., as *chakâra*, and 1 aor. Par., as *akârsham*, also in the causal, as *kârayati*.

6. कृ *kr*, in 2 and 3 pl. pf. Par., *chakra, chakruh*, and 1 and 3 s. pf. Âtm. *chakre*.

In the same way the root *ÇRU* "hear," appears in some parts of the verb as *çri*, in others as *çru, çrû, çriṇ*, and *çrâv*. In the whole range of verbal roots there is perhaps not one which does not undergo more or less modification in the course of being conjugated.

Not only does the root-syllable present itself in various forms in the several tenses, but the terminations of the nine persons differ in each tense, and sometimes one tense will have two sets of terminations. Moreover, the endings of any given tense in one phase, differ from the corresponding ones of the same tense in another phase. Thus the terminations of the present tense are in the active phase

Singular	1. ami.	2. si.	3. ti.
Dual	1. avah.	2. thah.	3. tah.
Plural	1. amah.	2. tha.	3. nti.

But in the middle phase the same tense ends in

Singular	1. i.	2. se.	3. te.
Dual	1. avahe.	2. ithe.	3. ite.
Plural	1. amahe.	2. dhve.	3. nte.

This slight outline will suffice to show how vast and intricate are the ramifications of the Sanskrit verb. The reader who has followed the steps by which the noun has been simplified, as shown in the second volume of this work, will not be surprised to find in the present volume how widely the modern verb differs from that of Sanskrit. It was impossible to reduce the verb to anything like the simplicity required by modern speakers without sacrificing by far the greater portion of the immense and unwieldy apparatus of ancient times.

§ 2. Owing to the want of a continuous succession of literary documents, such as exists in the case of the modern Romance

languages of Europe, it is scarcely possible to trace step by step the changes which have occurred in the verb. It is necessary, however, to make the attempt, and to piece together such evidence as we have, because the modern verb is an undoubted descendant of the ancient one, though only a slight trait here and there recalls the features of its parent, and its structure in many points can only be rendered intelligible by tracing it back to the ancient stock whence it sprung.

The first steps in the direction of simplification occur in Sanskrit itself. Many of the elaborate forms cited by grammarians are of very rare occurrence in actual literature, and some of them seem almost to have been invented for the sake of uniformity. Three instances of this tendency in classical Sanskrit may here be noticed.

The perfect tense in Sanskrit, as in Greek, is usually formed by reduplication, so we have from √ तप् "burn," pf. तताप, √ दृश् "see," pf. ददर्श, just as λείπω makes λέλοιπα and τρέπω, τέτροφα. But there are certain roots which cannot take reduplication, and these form their perfect by an analytical process. The root is formed into a sort of abstract substantive in the accusative case, and the perfect of an auxiliary verb is added to it. The verbs भू "be," अस् "be," and कृ "do," are the auxiliaries principally employed for this purpose. Thus—

√ उंद् "wet," makes pf. उंदां चकार, उंदां बभूव or उंदां आस.

√ चकास् "shine," „ „ चकासां चकार, etc.

√ बोधय "explain," „ „ बोधयां चकार, etc.[1]

Another instance of the analytical formation is seen in the future tense made out of the agent of the verb with the present tense of the auxiliary अस् "be." Thus from √ बुध् "know," comes the agent बोधिता, which with the present of अस् makes

S. 1. बोधितास्मि	P. 1. बोधितास्मः
2. बोधितासि	2. बोधितास्थ.

[1] Max Müller's Sanskrit Grammar, p. 172.

A third instance is a form of phrase in which the passive past participle is combined with this same auxiliary अस् to form a perfect definite, as आगतोऽस्मि "I have come," or, as more faithfully represented by other European languages, "je *suis* venu," and as we sometimes say ourselves, "I am come." Here an analytical construction supplies the place of the perfect. Closely allied to this is the frequent habit in writers of the classical style of expressing the same tense by the neuter of the p.p.p. with the subject in the instrumental, as तेन गतं "by him gone," *i.e.* "he went," instead of जगाम.

These are the first faint indications of a method which, in the course of ages, has developed to such an extent as to constitute the leading principle in the organization of the modern verb. By this system a greater facility for expressing nice shades of meaning is obtained. जगाम may mean "he went," or, "he has gone," but by the other system each of these two meanings has a phrase peculiar to itself, गतोऽस्ति meaning "he has gone," and तेन गतं "he went." Precisely in the same way the Latin had only *ego amavi* for "I loved" and "I have loved," but the Romance languages found this insufficient, and they have—

	"I loved."	"I have loved,"
French	j'aimai	j'ai aimé.
Italian	io amai	io ho amato.
Spanish	yo ame	yo he amado.

§ 3. The next step in the reduction of the numerous Sanskrit tenses to a more manageable compass is seen in Pali, originally an Indian Prakrit, but which became the sacred language of the Buddhists of Ceylon, having been carried thither in the middle of the third century[1] before Christ, by Mahendra, son of King Açoka, and spread thence to Burmah and Siam.

[1] Kuhn, Beiträge zur Pali Grammatik, p. 1. But Turnour, Mahawanso xxix., gives B.C. 307. So also Childers, preface, p. ix.

Although the Pali grammarians, in their anxiety to exalt their sacred speech, tell us that the verb has ten conjugations, yet examples of all these are but rarely found.[1] Four of the ten Sanskrit conjugations, the first, fourth, sixth, and tenth, resemble each other very closely even in that language, and are easily brought down to one in Pali. The seventh of Sanskrit also loses somewhat of its peculiar type, which consists in inserting न् between the vowel of the root and the final consonant, or न before weak terminations. Thus in Skr. √ रुध् *rudh*, "to obstruct," makes its present रुणद्धि *runaddhi*, but in Pali, while the न is retained, the present is *rundhati*, after the type of the first class.

Five out of the ten Sanskrit conjugations are thus reduced almost, if not entirely, to one. Of the remaining five, the second of Sanskrit in roots which end in a vowel exhibits some traces of Sanskrit forms, while in those which end in a consonant the types of the first, or *Bhû*, class prevail. Thus Skr. √ या "to go," pr. याति, Pali also *yâti*, but

Skr. √ मृज् "to rub," pr. मार्ष्टि. Pali *majjati*, as if from a Skr. मर्जति.
√ दुह् "to milk," „ दोग्धि. „ *dohati*.
√ लिह् "to lick," „ लेढि. „ *lehati*.

The third conjugation occasionally takes the reduplication as in Sanskrit, but in many instances prefers the Bhû type. Thus

Skr. √ भी "to fear," बिभेति. Pali भायति.
√ धा "to hold," दधाति. „ दधाति and दहति.

The verb *dâ*, "to give," which belongs to this conjugation, has special developments of its own, and is discussed in § 16.

The fifth, eighth, and ninth classes are very similar even in Sanskrit, for while the fifth adds नु to its root, the eighth adds उ; but as all its roots except one already end in न्, it

[1] Seven classes are given by Kaccâyana. See Senart, Journal Asiatique, vi. série, vol. xvii. p. 439.

comes practically to pretty much the same thing as the fifth. The ninth adds न्, ना, and नी to the root before various terminations. Here Pali draws very slight distinctions, making verbs of the fifth class take नु and ना indifferently, and both fifth and ninth appear occasionally in the guise of the first. Thus—

Skr. √ श्रु "hear," v.	शृणोति.	Pali	सुणोति and सुणाति.
√ बन्ध् "bind," ix.	बध्नाति.	,,	बंधति.
√ कृ "do," viii.	करोति.	,,	करोति.
√ मन् "think," viii.	मनुते.	,,	मञ्ञति.

The reason why the forms of the Bhû conjugation exercise so great an influence, and, like the *-as*-stem in nouns, so largely displace all the other types, is probably that the first conjugation is by far the largest, containing upwards of nine hundred out of the two thousand roots said to exist in Sanskrit. The second conjugation has only seventy-three, the third but twenty-five, the fourth and sixth about one hundred and forty each. The tenth, it is true, contains four hundred, but it is identical in form with the causal. The fifth has only thirty-three, the ninth sixty-one, while under the seventh class are twenty-five, and under the eighth only nine. These figures, it must be added, are taken from the Dhâtupâṭha, a grammarian's list of roots,[1] which contains many roots seldom, if ever, found in use, so that for all practical purposes the first conjugation covers more than half the verbs in the language. When it is also remembered that the fourth, sixth, and tenth differ but slightly from the first, it is not surprising that the terminations common to these four conjugations should have fixed themselves in the popular mind, and been added by the vulgar to all roots indiscriminately. Nearly all those verbs which retain the type of any conjugation, except the first, are words of extremely common use, which would naturally keep their

[1] Westergaard, Radices Sanskr. p. 342.

well-known forms in the mouths of the people in spite of all rules and tendencies to the contrary.

§ 4. The dual number has entirely disappeared from Pali, and the Âtmanepada, or middle phase, has practically merged into the active, for although Kaccâyana (J. As., vol. xvii. p. 429, sûtra 18) gives terminations for it, yet it is admitted that those of the active may be used instead, and practically it would appear that they are so used. The other phases, as causal, passive, desiderative, and intensive, have their own forms as in Sanskrit.

Among the tenses the chief is the present, and it is in Pali that we first find a tendency to retain throughout the whole verb that form of the root which is in use in the present. This tendency grows stronger in the later Prakrits, and becomes an almost invariable rule in the modern languages. Thus—

Skr. √ पच् "cook,"	present	पचति.	Pa. पचति.
	future	पक्ष्यति.	„ पचिस्सति.
	aorist	अपाचीत्.	„ अपचि.
	gerund	पक्त्वा.	„ पचित्वा.

Phonetic influences in Sanskrit change this root as regards its final consonant in the different tenses, but Pali, having got hold of the form *pach* in the present tense, retains it throughout the verb. It is still, however, only a tendency, and not a law, for we find instances in which Pali forms are derived directly from the corresponding tense in Sanskrit. One who should attempt to learn Pali without reference to Sanskrit would find it difficult to understand how the words *karoti, kubbati, kayirâ, kâhâmi, akâsi, kattum*, could all spring from the same verbal root. It is only when the corresponding Sanskrit forms *karoti, kurvate, kuryât,*[1] *kartâsmi, akârshît, kartum*, are put by their

[1] Or more strictly from an older *karyât* not in use in classical Sanskrit. Kuhn, Beiträge, 105.

side, that the thread which connects them all becomes evident. Just so in the Romance languages, Italian *so, sa, sapete, sanno, seppi*, seem to have very little beyond the initial *s* in common, till it is perceived that they come from the Latin *sapio, sapit, sapitis, sapiunt, sapui;* thus, also, *ho* and *ebbi* can only be seen to be parts of the same verb when their origin from Latin *habeo* and *habui* is recognized. In Spanish there is the same difficulty, as will be seen by comparing *hacer, hago, hice, hare*, and *hecho*, with their Latin originals *facere, facio, feci, facere habeo*, and *factum*. In Portuguese, which seems to be the lowest and most corrupt Apabhrança of the Romance Prakṛits, the changes are such as almost to defy analysis. For instance, *ter, tenho, tinha, tive, terei*, correspond to Latin *tenere, teneo, tenebam, tenui, tenere habeo:* also *hei, houve, haja*, to *habeo, habui, habeam*, and *sou, he, foi, seja*, to *sum, est, fui, sit*.[1]

The tenses of the Pali verb are eight in number.[2] These correspond to the tenses of the Sanskrit verb, omitting the periphrastic or second future (luṭ), the benedictive (âçir liṅ), and the subjunctive (leṭ). The present active is almost exactly the same as the Sanskrit as regards its terminations in the Bhû form, and the middle only differs, and even then very slightly, in the 1 and 2 plural. Thus—

Skr. 1 pl. पचामहे. 2. पचध्वे.

Pa. 1. पचाम्हे. 2. पचड्ढे.

In this tense, as in many others, Pali is not very instructive, it clings too closely to the Sanskrit. It is, however, necessary to give a sketch of its forms, because they exhibit the first traces of that gradual change which has led to the modern conjugation. Even when the Pali conjugates a verb according to

[1] Diez, Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p. 188.

[2] The materials for this section are taken chiefly from Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 93 *seqq.*, with some additions from Childers's Dictionary, and a few remarks of my own.

any class other than the Bhû, it still keeps the personal endings of Sanskrit for that conjugation; thus from √ या "go," we have—

Pa. S. 1. यामि, 2. यासि, 3. याति; P. 1. याम, 2. याथ, 3. यांति.

which differs from Sanskrit only in omitting the visarga in P. 1.

The imperative follows the type of the present, and may be thus compared with Sanskrit Parasmaipada,

Skr. S. 1. पचानि, 2. पच, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचत, 3. पचंतु.
Pa. S. 1. पचामि, 2. पचहि, 3. पचतु; P. 1. पचाम, 2. पचथ, 3. पचंति.

and with the Âtmanepada, thus—

Skr. S. 1. पचै, 2. पचस्व, 3. पचतां; P. 1. पचामहै, 2. पचध्वं, 3. पचंतां.
Pa. S. 1. पचे, 2. पचस्सु, 3. पचतं; P. 1. पचामसे, 2. पचड्ढो, 3. पचंतं.

Here the S. 1 Parasmai seems to have arisen from some confusion with the present, as also P. 2. Noteworthy is S. 2, with its ending हि, which, though only found in classical Sanskrit in the second, third, seventh, and ninth conjugations, has crept into all in Pali, and has continued on into the mediæval period, thus Chand

तिन सु गद्द अच्छी कहहि॥

"*Say thou* a good word of them."—Pr. R. i. 9.

where कहहि = Skr. कथय (हि). In Vedic Skr. हि appears in all the conjugations. Of the Âtmane forms P. 1 seems to be derived from an older form, *masai*. P. 2 should perhaps be read *hvo*, not *tho*, in which case it is a regular resultant from Sanskrit *dhv*.

The potential is the Sanskrit optative (liṅ), thus—

PARASMAI.

Skr. S. 1. पचेयं, 2. पचेस्, 3. पचेत्; P. 1. पचेम, 2. पचेत, 3. पचेयुस्.
Pa. S. 1. पचेय्यामि, 2. °य्यासि, 3. °य्य; P. 1. °य्याम, 2. °य्याथ, 3. °य्युं.

ÂTMANE.

Sk. S. 1. पचेय, 2. पचेथास्, 3. पचेत; P. 1. पचेमहि, 2. पचेध्वं, 3. पचेरन्.
Pa. S. 1. पचेय्यं, 2. पचेथो, 3. पचेथ; P. 1. पचेय्याम्हे, 2. °य्यद्वो, 3. पचेरं.

In this tense the point specially to be noticed is the tendency to simplify not only the root-syllable, but the range of terminations also. Having got the syllables *eyya* as the type of the tense, Pali seeks to avoid all further distinctions, and to use as much as possible the personal endings of the present tense. It sometimes conjugates the potential according to the types of other classes, and in this respect follows the lead of the present less faithfully in this tense than in the imperative. Thus, though in the present and imperative of *kar*, it follows the Sanskrit, and has *karoti*, *karotu*, yet in the potential it treats *kar* as if it belonged to the Bhû class, and has *kareyyâmi* as though from a Sanskrit *kareyam* instead of the actual *kuryâm*. There are other peculiarities about this tense which are not here noticed, as having no bearing upon the subject of the modern languages.

The imperfect has been, to some extent, mixed up with the aorist (luṅ), and both, together with the perfect, lead us into considerations which are of interest only for Pali itself, not having survived or had any influence on modern developments. They may therefore be passed over as immaterial to our present inquiry.

The future, on the contrary, offers many interesting peculiarities, especially, as will be seen hereafter, in reference to Gujarati and some of the rustic dialects of Hindi. The future is a *difficult* tense in the modern languages, and every scrap of information which can help to elucidate it deserves special notice. It runs thus in Pali (√ गम् "go")—

Skr. S. 1. गमिष्यामि, 2. °ष्यसि, 3. °ष्यति; P. 1. °ष्यामस्, 2. °ष्यथ, 3. °ष्यंति.
Pa. S. 1. गमिस्सामि, 2. °स्ससि, 3. °स्सति; P. 1. °स्साम, 2. °स्सथ, 3. °स्संति.

Here the only noteworthy feature is the change of **ष्य** into **स्स**. The Âtmanepada follows the same rule throughout. Although the tendency to keep that form of the root which exists in the present leads to divergences from the Sanskrit future type, yet instances occur in which the Sanskrit type is preserved. These occur in reference to that very troublesome feature in the Sanskrit verb, the intermediate **इ**, which is sometimes inserted between the root and the termination, and sometimes not. When it is not inserted, the euphonic laws of Sanskrit require that the final consonant of the root be changed to enable it to combine with the initial consonant of the termination. Thus √ **पच** "cook," when it has to take the future termination **ष्यति**, becomes **पक्** and **पक + ष्यति = पक्खति**. Here Pali sticks to the form **पच्**, because it is used in the present and makes its future **पचिस्सति** as though there had been (as there probably was in colloquial usage) a Sanskrit future **पचिष्यति** with the intermediate **इ** inserted.

In a certain number of verbs, however, it has two forms, one as above retaining the root-form of the present, and the other a phonetic equivalent of the Sanskrit. Kuhn[1] gives the following examples, to which I add the Sanskrit for comparison.

Skr. √ **लभ्** "get," future **लप्स्यते**. Pali **लच्छति** but also **लभिस्सति**.
√ **वच्** "speak," „ **वक्ष्यते**. „ **वक्खति**.
√ **धा** "put," „ **धास्यति**. „ **धस्सति**.
√ **वस्** "dwell," „ **वत्स्यति**. „ **वच्छति** but also **वसिस्सति**.
√ **छिद्** "cleave," „ **छेत्स्यति**. „ **छेच्छति** „ **छिंदिस्सति**.
√ **भुज्** "eat," „ **भोक्ष्यति**. „ **भोक्खति** „ **भुंजिस्सति**.
√ **मुच्** "loose," „ **मोक्ष्यति**. „ **मोक्खति** „ **मुंचिस्सति**.
√ **श्रु** "hear," „ **श्रोष्यति**. „ **सोस्सति** „ **सुनिस्सति**.

[1] Beiträge, p. 115.

The consonantal changes are in accordance with the treatment of the nexus as explained in Vol. I. p. 304. The striving after uniformity is seen, however, in the retention of the alternative forms having the same type as the present, and it is, moreover, worth observing that the forms which reproduce the type of the Sanskrit without the intermediate इ seem by degrees to have been misunderstood. The illiterate masses, and even those better instructed, seem to have missed the *issati* which so generally indicated to their minds the future tense, and regarded those forms which had not this familiar sound as present tenses. So they made double futures by adding the *issa* to them. Thus from दृश् "to see," future द्रक्ष्यति, Pali made a form *dakkhati*, but the people by degrees took this for a present, and made what to them seemed a more correct future *dakkhissati*. I mention this here as I shall have occasion hereafter to discuss the much-debated question of the origin of the familiar modern stem *dekh* "see" (see § 17). Another instance is

Skr. √ शक् "be able," future शक्ष्यति. Pa. सक्खति, whence vulgo सक्खिस्सति.

In one case Pali has a future which points back to a Vedic form:

Skr. √ रुद् "weep." Vedic future रोत्स्यति. Pa. रोच्छति.
Classic ditto रोदिष्यति. „ रोदिस्सति.

Occasionally the स्स is softened to ह, as in काहति, काहिति from करिस्सति, Skr. करिष्यति. This is noteworthy with reference to Bhojpuri and the eastern Hindi dialects generally.

§ 5. It used to be held that Pali was a descendant of the Mâgadhi dialect of Prakrit, but this opinion is now, I believe, exploded. Though the question is not yet set at rest, it would seem to have been fairly established that Mahendra was a

native of Ujjayin, and that the language which he carried to Ceylon was the ordinary vernacular of his own province.[1] This dialect was not very different from that of Magadha, and Mahendra may have slightly altered the Mâgadhi sayings of the great master, by his Ujjayini pronunciation, while retaining the name Mâgadhi out of deference to the sacred associations which clustered round the birthplace of Buddha.

Be this as it may, the nearest Indian dialect to Pali seems undoubtedly to be the Prakrit of the Bhâgavatî, a sacred book of the semi-Buddhist sect of Jainas. If Hemachandra, himself a Jain and author of several works on Prakrit, were available for reference, our task would be easier; as yet, however, none of Hemachandra's writings have been printed or edited. Weber's articles on the Bhâgavatî are at present our only source of information.[2]

In the Jaina Prakrit the ten conjugations of the Sanskrit verb are, with few exceptions, reduced to the Bhû type. In this respect it goes further than Pali, treating as verbs of the first conjugation many which in Pali retain the type of other conjugations. The fifth, seventh, and ninth conjugations, which in Sanskrit insert न् with certain variations, are all reduced to one head by regarding the न् as part of the root, as is also the case with the य of the fourth class. The *a* inserted between the root and termination of the Bhû class is used throughout, though occasionally weakened to *i*, or changed to *e* from some confusion between this and the *e* = *aya*, which is the type of the tenth class. The following examples will illustrate the above remarks.

[1] Kuhn, Beiträge, p. 7.

[2] Pischel's admirable edition of Hemachandra's Grammar (Orphanage Press, Halle, 1877) has reached me just as this work is going to press, and too late to be of use for this edition, except for a few hasty notes here and there. Mueller's Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprakrit came into my hands about the same time. I find it enables me to add a few illustrations to this section, which, however, was written in the latter part of 1875.

Skr. √ हृ "take,"	i. हरति	Jaina	हरति, हरइ.
√ विद् "know,"	ii. वेत्ति	,,	वेदेइ.
Pl. 3	विदन्ति	,,	वेदेंति.
√ धा "put,"	iii. दधाति		
with अपि,	अपिदधाति	,,	पिहेइ "puts on (clothes)" and पिहाइ.
√ सिध् "succeed,"	iv. सिध्यति	,,	सिज्झइ.
but आराध् "propitiate,"	आराध्यति	,,	आराहेइ.
√ आप् "get,"	v. आप्नोति.		
with प्र, प्राप्,	प्राप्नोति	,,	पाउणइ; the न being treated as part of the root.
√ चि "gather,"	v. चिनोति	,,	चयति, चयइ, but also चिनाइ, with the same confusion between the नो of v. and ना of viii. as occurs in Pali.
√ श्रु "hear,"	v. शृणोति		
with प्रति,	प्रतिशृणोति	,,	पडिसुणेइ "promises."
√ स्पृश् "touch,"	vi. स्पृशति	,,	फुसेइ.
√ भंज् "break,"	vii. भनक्ति	,,	भंजइ.
√ कृ "do,"	viii. करोति	,,	करइ.
√ ग्रह "take,"	ix. गृह्णाति	,,	गेण्हइ, here again the ण has passed into the root.
√ ज्ञा "know,"	ix. जानाति	,,	जाणइ.

The tenth class being identical with the first is omitted. It will be seen that the present tense is formed throughout on the model of the first conjugation, the Jain words given above being phonetic modifications of words which would be in Sanskrit respectively *harati, vedati, dhâti, ârâdhati, prâpanati,*

chayati, suṇati, bhanjati, karati, grihṇati, and *jânati,* if all those verbs belonged to the first or Bhû conjugation.

It is not so easy to draw out a full verbal paradigma in this dialect as in Pali, because we have as yet no grammars, and are obliged to fall back on the words that occur in a single text. The range of tenses appears to consist of a present (corresponding to the Sanskrit laṭ), imperative (loṭ), potential (liṅ), imperfect and aorist jumbled together as in Pali, and future (lṛit). The perfect (liṭ) seems to be altogether wanting, as it is in the modern languages.

The present runs thus :—√ नम् "bow."

S. 1. नमामि, 2. नमसि, 3. नमति; P. 1. नमामो, 2. नमह, 3. नमंति.
नमेमि, नमेसि, नमेति; नमेमो, नमेंति.
नमइ; नमिंति.
नमेइ.

Those terminations which contain the vowel *e* have crept into the conjugation of all verbs from the tenth, to which that vowel, as shortened from *aya,* must be held strictly to belong, or to causals. Thus in Bhâg. i. 60, we have *phâseti, pâleti, sobheti, tîreti, pûreti, kitteti, anupâlei, ârâhei,* for Sanskrit स्पर्शयति, पालयति, शोभयति, तारयति, पूरयति, कीर्त्तयति, अनुपालयति, आराधयति, respectively. In the last word the causal form becomes the same as the active given above. Of the imperative we have only the S. 2 and P. 2, which are in fact the only persons which an imperative can properly have. The S. 2 takes the ending हि as in Pali with junction vowels *â* and *e,* the P. 2 ends in ह, which, as Weber points out, is from the P. 2 of the present, in Sanskrit थ. Thus—

Skr. √ रुच् "shine," causal रोचय, impv. रोचय, Jaina रोएहि.
श्रद्धा "believe," „ श्रद्धेहि, „ सद्दहाहि (pres. सद्दहइ).
√ बंध् "bind," impv. P. 2. बध्नीत, „ बंधह.

The potential, of which only the S. 3 is traceable, resembles Pali in using the termination *eyya* with variant *ejja*.

Skr. √ गम् "go," S. 3. गच्छेत् Jaina गच्छेय, गच्छेज्ज.

√ ग्रह "take," „ गृह्णीयात् „ गेण्हेज्ज.

But there exist some old simple forms derived by phonetic changes from the corresponding Sanskrit tense, as kujja = kuryât, dajja = dadyât (Mueller, p. 60).

The future resembles that of Pali, thus—

S. 1. नमिस्सामि, 2. °इस्ससि, 3. °इस्सइ; P. 1. °इस्सामो, 2. °इस्सह, 3. इस्संति.

It also appears with a termination *ihi* produced by weakening स्स into ह and the following *a* to *i*, thus—

Skr. गमिष्यति, Jain गच्छिहिति and गमिहिति.

Moreover, there is a trace of the double future like Pali *dakkhissati*.

Skr. √ पद् "go," with उप, उपपद् "attain," future उपपत्स्यते, Jaina उववज्झिहिति.

Here उपपत्स्यते would phonetically become उववच्छइ, and by still further softening उववज्झइ, whence, as if from a present, is formed the future उववज्झिस्सइ and उववज्झिहिति.

§ 6. The reduction in the number of tenses necessitates a greatly extended use of participles. This is one great step in the transition from the synthetical to the analytical system. The Sanskrit present active participle takes in that language the characteristics of the ten conjugations, and is declined as a noun in three genders. It ends properly in *ant*, but the nasal is dropped before certain terminations, as

M.	F.	N.
पचन्	पचन्ती	पचत्.
रुंधन्	रुंधती	रुंधत्.

The nasal, however, is retained throughout in Jaina Prakrit, thus—

Skr. ज्वलन् ज्वलन्ती ज्वलत्.
Jaina जलंतो जलंती जलंतं.

This peculiarity is worth remembering; much depends on this retention of the nasal, as will be seen when we come to the modern Sindhi and Panjabi verbs.

Very great interest attaches to the participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तव्य. In verbs which do not take intermediate इ, this ending is added directly to the root with the usual Sandhi changes; but as Prakrit prefers to insert the इ in order to preserve the root-form of the present, it comes to pass that the त of the termination stands alone between two vowels, and in consonance with Prakrit phonetics is elided. The hiatus thus produced is in the Jaina writings filled by य. If to this we add the regular mutation of व्य into व्व, we get from तव्य the form यव्व. In its original meaning this participle corresponds to the Latin in *ndus*, as *faciendus*, and expresses that which is to be done, as त्वया गन्तव्यं "by thee it is to be gone," *i.e.* "thou must go." In this sense it occurs frequently in Bhâgavatî, as for instance in § 56:

Jaina एवं देवाणुप्पिया गंतव्वं, चिट्ठियव्वं, निसीतियव्वं, भुंजियव्वं, etc.
Skr. एवं देवानुप्रिया गन्तव्यं, स्थातव्यं, निषत्तव्यं, भोक्तव्यं, etc.

"Thus, O beloved of the gods, must ye go, must ye stand, must ye sit, must ye eat," where the last two words postulate a Sanskrit form with the इ inserted, such as निषीदितव्यं, भुंजितव्यं.

It is obvious that it would require no great straining of the sense of this participle to make it into an infinitive, and seeing that as early as this Jaina dialect the use of the regular Sanskrit infinitive in तुं has become rare, it follows that recourse should be had to some participial form to supply its place. In this way we find the past passive participle in इत, with the त elided and

its place supplied by **य**, employed in a construction where we should expect the infinitive. Thus Bhâg. § 54, **इच्छामि पव्वावियं, मुंडावियं, सेहावियं, सिक्खावियं** (Weber, Bhâg. p. 274): "I wish to wander, to take the tonsure, to practise austerities, to learn," as though from Sanskrit forms **प्रव्राजितं, मुण्डापितं, सेधापितं, शिक्षापितं**, the three last being causals formed with *âp*, as is frequently the case with causals in Prakrit, though of course these forms are not found in Sanskrit. In that language the formation of causals by means of **प्** is restricted to a few stems.

More will be said on this subject in a subsequent chapter, but it is necessary here to note an early instance of this process which takes a much wider development in later times, the infinitive in Gujarati and Oriya and several participial constructions and verbal nouns being derived from it.

§ 7. The scenic Prakrits represent a further step in development. Despite the admittedly artificial character of these dialects, they probably retain forms which were at one time in general use, although that time may not have been the epoch when the dramas were written, and without referring to them, the structure of the modern verb could not be clearly understood. It is expedient to avoid discussing this question, lest attention should be drawn away from the real subject of this work, namely, the *modern* languages. All this part of the present chapter is merely introductory and is only inserted in order to pave the way for a more intelligent appreciation of the origin and growth of Hindi and its fellows.

In the Mâhârâshtri or principal poetical dialect all conjugations are reduced to the type of the first or Bhû class, and the same holds good for the Çauraseni or chief prose dialect. Only here and there do we find faint traces of the peculiarities of other conjugations. Of the six phases only three remain, active, passive, and causal. The passive differs from the active only in the form of the root, the characteristic **य** of the

Sanskrit passive having been worked into the stem, and the terminations of the active being added to it. The Âtmanepada and the dual are of course rejected.

Of tenses these dialects have a still more restricted range than the Jaina Prakrits. They have the present, imperative and future, with traces of the potential. The past tense is chiefly formed by the p.p.p. with auxiliary verbs. Thus from √ रुच् "shine,"

Present S. 1. रोचामि, रोचमि, रोचम्हि, 2. रोचसि, 3. रोचदि. रोचइ.

P. 1. रोचामो, °मु, °म, रोचम, °मु, °म्हो, °म्ह, रोचिमो, °मु, 2. रोचध, °ह, °त्थ, °धं. °इत्थ. 3. रोचन्ति.

Here are observable those first indications of a confusion of forms, and uncertainty in their use, which are always characteristic of that period in languages when the synthetical structure is breaking down into the analytical. In these dialects, as in Jaina Prakrit, the practice exists of inserting ए as a junction vowel; thus we have such forms as कलेमि "I do," Skr. करोमि, instead of करामि, which would be the regular result of treating कर् as a Bhû verb, गच्छेम्ह for गच्छाम, "let us go." The presence of the ह in S. 1 and P. 1 is accounted for by its being confused with that construction in which the present of अस् is used with a past participle; thus we find कदम्हि "I was made" = Sanskrit कृतोऽस्मि, and पेसिदम्हि "I have been sent" = Skr. प्रेषितोऽस्मि.

The imperative has the following forms—

S. 2. रोच, रोचाहि 3. रोचदु. रोचउ. P. 2. रोचध, रोचह 3. रोचंतु.

The S. 2 has also forms रोचस्स, रोचस्सु, pointing to a Sanskrit Âtmane form रोचस्व and P. 2 similarly रोचधं = Skr. रोचध्वं, though neither are used in a middle sense, but are equivalents as regards meaning of the Sanskrit active.

The following are a few examples:

पेक्खस्स "look thou!"	Skr.	प्रेक्षस्व.
णमस्स "bow thou!"	„	नमस्व.
वहध "bear ye."	„	वहत.
जाध "go ye."	„	यात.
अवेध "go away."	„	अपेत.
ओसलध "get out of the way!"	„	अपसरत.
कलेध "do."	„	कुरुत.
जग्गेध "wake up."	„	जागृत.[1]

The future most usually exhibits the form of the Sanskrit present in इथ = इस.

S. 1. रोचिस्सामि, 2. रोचिस्ससि, 3. °इस्सइ.
रोचिस्सं

P. 1. °इस्सामो, 2. °इस्सध, 3. °इस्संति.
etc. °इस्सह.

This form is used indifferently with roots of all classes as in Pali, but here also there still subsist some traces of a future formed without the intermediate इ. Vararuchi (vii. 16, 17) gives the following:—

Skr. √ श्रु "hear,"	fut.		श्रोष्यामि.	Pr.	सोच्छं.
√ वच् "speak,"	„		वक्ष्यामि.	„	वोच्छं.
√ गम् "go,"	„		[गंस्यामि].	„	गच्छं.
√ रुद् "weep,"	„	Ved.	रोत्स्यामि.	„	रोच्छं.
√ विद् "know,"	„		वेत्स्यामि.	„	वेच्छं.

These forms are, however, justly regarded as exceptions; for the rule in scenic, as in other, Prakrits is to retain throughout the root-form of the present. The regular type of the future is that in *issa-*, and the above words have also a future formed in the regular way, सुणिस्सइ, वचिस्सइ, गमिस्सइ, etc. This स्स

[1] Some of these are Mâgadhi Prakrit, but for my present purpose it is not necessary to draw a distinction between Mâgadhi and Çauraseni.

is softened to ह, and the following vowel is weakened to र, producing as characteristic the syllables *ihi*. Thus—

√ हस् "laugh," S. 1. हसिहिमि. 2. हसिहिसि, 3. हसिहिर्, etc.

By a forgetfulness of the origin of such forms as सोच्छं, the ordinary future terminations may be added to them too, just like *dakkhissati* in Pali (§ 4), so that we find सोच्छिस्सति, and सोच्छिहिति.

The various tenses which in Sanskrit indicate past time have already in Pali and the earlier Prakrits been fused down into one. In scenic Prakrit a further step is taken, and the syllables *ia*, erroneously written *ia* in some MSS., are added to the root for all persons of the past tense (Var. vii. 23, 24. Lassen, Inst. Pr., 353). This is probably the neuter of the p.p.p. in Sanskrit, and its use is due to the frequency of the construction with the instrumental. Instead of saying "I saw, I went, I heard," the people said, "by me seen, gone, heard." This point is one of great importance in modern Hindi and Gujarati.

§ 8. While the Maharashtri and Çauraseni dialects are considered the principal ones in the dramas, there are yet others of great importance, such as the Mâgadhi, with its sub-dialects. Among these, however, it is necessary only to notice that called Apabhraṇça. I do not wish here to touch upon the question whether the dialect called by this name in the dramas really represents the speech of any particular Indian province or not. I assume, for the sake of convenience, that Apabhraṇça is really a vulgar speech further removed from the classical idiom than Maharashtri or Çauraseni. There may have been half a dozen Apabhraṇças, probably there were. In this section I am merely seeking to put together examples of verbal forms in a dialect one step nearer to modern times than the principal scenic Prakrits, and having done so, shall go on to my own special subject.

All that we can expect in the way of tenses after what has been said in the preceding sections, is a present, an imperative, and a future. The rest of the verbal work is done by participles.

√ प्रच्छ् "ask," Present S. 1. पुच्छामि, पुच्छमि, °एमि °इमि. 2. °असि, 3. °अइ. एइ.

P. 1. पुच्छाम, 2. पुच्छह, °एह. 3. °अंति.

√ कृ "do," Imperative S. 2. करहि, करे, करि, कर, कर. P. 1. करउं, करऊ. P. 2. करह. करहु.

In the future, although the form with the characteristic *issa* is found as सुमरिस्सदि = स्मरिष्यति, Skr. √ स्मृ, yet more commonly we find the form in which स्स has been softened to ह; thus

S. 1. करिहिमि, 2. करिहिसि, 3. करिहिइ, etc.

The grammarians also give a

P. 1. in ङ्ं as कासाङ्ं = करिष्याम.

The participles resemble in most respects those in other Prakrit dialects, but that in तव्यं becomes इव्वं, as करइव्वं and करिव्वं = करितव्य (कर्त्तव्य). The gerund ends in प्पि, प्पिणु, and a softened form वि; the ordinary Çauraseni form इअ, which will be found in several modern languages, is here also used. To the gerund rather than to the infinitive, as the grammarians would have it, seems to belong the form in एवउं, as लेहेवउं, the exact genesis of which is doubtful, though, as to the final उं, there is an analogy in the true infinitive लहणउं, which very closely approaches to Chand's forms, as वरणउं, वरणवुं.

In addition to the above forms which are found in scenic Apabhrança, others and those more genuine fragments of popular speech are to be picked out from scraps that have

been preserved by bards. It is much to be wished that we had more of Hemachandra's works accessible, as in them we should doubtless find a rich mine of such words. Thus for all past tenses there is the participial form in इउं for all three persons, as

जाणिउं = जानितं (ज्ञातं).
कहिउं = कथितं.
अप्पिउं = अर्पितं.

It has a plural in आ or या, as:

आया = आगताः
वारिया = वारिताः
उट्ठिया = उत्थिताः

Sometimes also the *u* of the singular is rejected and *a* substituted, as भणिअं = भणितं. There are other forms to be found in these poems which will be referred to hereafter when the modern forms which they illustrate are under discussion.

As a general result from the preceding brief sketches it may be asserted that Sanskrit, Pali, and the Prakrits taken collectively as the languages of the earlier stage have a common structure, though in different grades. Sanskrit, with its full range of synthetical tenses, yet admits here and there analytical constructions. Pali does the same, though its synthetical tenses are fewer and simpler. The Prakrits reduce the tenses still further, and make greater use of participial constructions. The treatment of the root-syllable also shows a gradually increasing tendency to simplification, for whereas in Sanskrit it is changed in form repeatedly in the various tenses, a practice begins in Pali and grows more common as we go down the stream, of using in all parts of the verb that form of the root which is found in the Sanskrit present.

From the review of these languages given above the passive and causal have been purposely omitted, because the parts which they play in the development of the modern verb are peculiar,

and will be better understood when seen side by side with the modern forms. The desiderative and intensive have left few or no traces of their existence, and may be passed over unnoticed.

§ 9. We may now approach the languages of the present day, and the discussion becomes more minute and particular. Though the verb of the new world has ways of its own, yet it stretches out hands across the gulf of centuries to the old world verb, and supports its claim to descent from it by still preserving traces unmistakeable, though often faint and irregular, of the ancient forms and systems.

As in the noun, so also in the verb, the first thing to be considered is the stem. The modern verbal stem undergoes no changes, but remains absolutely the same throughout all moods, tenses and persons. To this rule there is a small though important exception, consisting of some participles of the preterite passive which are derived direct from the Prakrit forms, and are thus early Tadbhavas. The number of these early Tadbhava participles differs in the various languages. They are most numerous, as might be expected, in Sindhi, which has a hundred and forty of them in a total of about two thousand verbs. In Panjabi, Gujarati and Marathi the number is rather less, while in Hindi only five, and in Bengali and Oriya only two exist. They will be found, together with their derivations, in Chapter III. §§ 46, 47, 48.

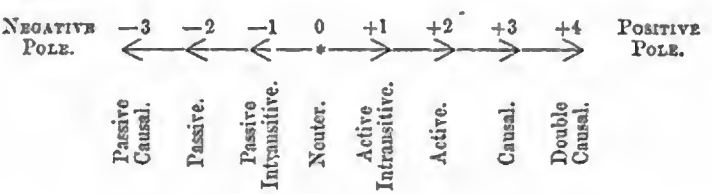
With this slight exception the verbal stem remains unaltered throughout. Thus, having got, by means hereafter to be explained, the word *sun* for "hear," Hindi simply tacks on to it the terminations; thus *sunnā* to hear, *suntā* hearing, *sunā* heard, *sunũ̃* I hear, *sune* he hears, *suno* hear ye! *sunegā* he will hear, *sunkar* having heard.

Primary stems are almost always monosyllabic, but secondary or derivative stems have often more syllables than one. The

latter may be brought under three heads. First, stems derived from Sanskrit roots with which a preposition has already been compounded, principally उत्, नि, प्र, and सं, as *utar* "descend," *nikal* "go out," *pasar* "spread," *sankoch* "distress." Second, stems formed by reduplication, as *jhanjhan* "tinkle," *tharthar* "flutter." Third, stems with an added syllable, as *guṭak* "swallow," *ghasiṭ* "drag," *karkach*, "bind."

It was seen above that in the old world verb there were six phases, and that two of these, the desiderative and intensive, have since been lost. The modern verb having to provide for active, neuter, passive, causal and other phases, has been obliged to have recourse to processes of its own, by which it arrives at the possession of a much wider range than Sanskrit can boast of, and does it too by far simpler means. Partly this result is obtained by ingenious adaptations of Prakrit forms, partly by modifications of, or additions to, its own stems, and partly by combining two stems together. It will first, therefore, be necessary to examine what phases the modern verb has, and then to proceed to examine the processes by which it has provided itself with the necessary forms for each phase.

§ 10. Those phases which are expressed by one word may be ranged as regards meaning in a regular scale of grades of action, according to the degree and kind of activity they express. In the following scheme we take the neuter as the point of quiescence, and trace degrees which start from it towards a positive pole indicating activity, and a negative pole indicating passivity.



The foregoing table looks, I fear, somewhat fanciful, but I know not how better to express a matter which is a striking and very important feature in the modern Aryan verb. It may be explained by considering each phase separately.

The neuter verb (0) expresses neither action nor passion. It conceives of the subject as in a condition of more existence, as *being* something, not *doing*, and is therefore the simplest phase of verbal description. Pure neuter verbs are *ho* "be," *rah* "remain."

The next grade is the active intransitive (+1) which conceives of the subject as indeed acting, but acting in such a way that his action does not pass beyond himself to affect an external object, as *soch* "think," *chal* "walk," *phir* "revolve."

The active transitive comes next (+2). In this the subject is considered as acting in such a way that his action affects external objects, as *mâr* "beat," *khâ* "eat," *pi* "drink."

The next grade is the causal (+3), in which the subject acts upon an external object in such a way as to cause it to act in its turn upon a second object, as H. *sunâ* "cause to hear," H. *phirâ* "cause to turn."

In some of the languages there is a yet further grade, the double causal (+4), in which the subject causes the first object to set in motion a second object, so that it affects a third object, as S. *phcrâ* "cause to cause to turn," S. *ghârâ* "cause to cause to wound."

Returning now to the neuter or central point, and starting off again in the opposite direction towards the negative pole, we arrive at the passive intransitive (−1). In this phase the subject not only takes no action, but is himself under the influence of exterior agencies. It differs as much from the neuter on one hand as from the passive on the other, and is a sort of middle voice. It is called in Sanskrit grammar *Bhâva-* or *Sahya-bheda*, and is principally used in Gujarati, though ex-

isting in the other languages also, as G. *abhaḍá* "be polluted" (be in a state of pollution), H. *ban* "be built" (be in process of construction).

The passive (−2) is that phase which regards the subject as no longer an agent, but as being acted upon, as S. *dhoija* "be washed."

Lastly comes the passive causal (−3), where the subject causes an object to be acted upon by a second object, as M. *mâravi* "cause to be struck."

It must not be supposed that all of these phases are found in every language. On the contrary, in none of the languages are there separate forms for each phase. It is only on reviewing the whole seven in a body that the full range of phases is seen. Generally speaking, the eight phases are represented by six sets of forms:

1. Neuter,	including	0, +1 and −1.
2. Active,	,,	+2.
3. Passive,	,,	−2.
4. Causal,	,,	+3.
5. Passive Causal,	,,	−3.
6. Double Causal,	,,	+4.

The double causal and passive have separate and distinct forms only in Sindhi. The passive, however, is found in some rustic dialects of Hindi. Generally the use of the passive construction is avoided by having recourse to the passive intransitive (−1) or the neuter (0), the former of which has a distinct form in Gujarati, Old Hindi, and Bengali, and in the construction of sentences in which it is used resembles the active, like *vapulo* in Latin.

Of the above phases the neuter and active are the simplest, the other forms being derived from them by the addition of syllables or internal modifications; the secret of the formation

of the modern verb is therefore to be sought for in the neuter and active.

§ 11. Some verbal stems are found only in the neuter form, others, again, only in the active, while a third and somewhat large class has both a neuter and an active form. For convenience, the first two classes may be called single stems, and the last double stems. Those double stems arise from the circumstance that two separate but, so to speak, twin verbs, have been made by the moderns out of one old Aryan root, each modern stem being derived from a different part of the old verb, as will be shown further on.

Among single stems, those which are neuter (including active intransitive and passive intransitive) supply the place of an active by employing the causal, thus H. बनना (passive intransitive) "to be made," takes as its corresponding active बनाना "to make," which is really a passive causal, meaning "to cause to be made." Those single stems which are active mostly require no neuter, but should it be necessary to express one, the passive intransitive is used, as कहना "to tell," कहलाना "to be called."

Moreover, in Sanskrit there is a class of verbs derived from nouns, and called denominatives, which express the being in the state described by the parent noun, and sometimes (though more rarely) the action of the subject. Verbs of this sort are common in all languages of the Aryan stock, and notably so in modern English, where a verb may be formed almost at will from any noun; thus we say "to eye," "to mouth," "to beard," "to house oneself," "to shoe a horse," etc. In Sanskrit these verbs take the form of the tenth conjugation, or perhaps it would be more correct to regard them as causals. Examples are Sanskrit *agadyati* "he is in good health," from *agada* "healthy"; *chapaláyate* "he trembles," from *chapala* "tremulous"; *paṇḍitáyate* "he is learned," or "he acts the

pedant," from *paṇḍita* "a (so-called) learned man";[1] *yoktrayati* "he yokes," from *yoktram* "a yoke." Probably from this cause it arises that there are in the moderns neuter verbs with a causal termination, as M. कडकाविणें "to bang," "crack," H. घबराना "to be amazed," चंचलाना "to totter." See § 28.

All these points will be noticed in detail in their proper place, they are cursorily mentioned here as an introduction to the general subject, and to show that there is an interchange and playing to and fro of forms and meanings which is somewhat difficult to unravel, and the more so as in colloquial usage the verbs are often very laxly and capriciously employed.

§ 12. Single neuter verbs are to a great extent early Tadbhavas as far as their stems are concerned, and consequently retain the Prakrit type. Thus they exhibit few or no traces of the tenfold classification of the Sanskrit or of the numerous phonetic changes that take place in the interior of the verb, but follow as a rule the form of the root in the present tense of the Bhû class. Here follows a list of some of the simplest and most used stems in the modern languages derived from verbs which in Sanskrit are Bhû. In the dictionaries the modern verbs are generally shown under the infinitive mood, but in the following lists I have thought it better to give only the stem; the reader can add the form of the infinitives if he wishes to refer to them in the dictionaries, as H. ना, P. णा or ना, S. णु, G. वुं, M. णें, O. ିବା. In the Bengali dictionaries verbs are given under the stem alone.

Skr. √ भू "be," pres. भवति, Pa. भवति and होति, Pr. भोदि, होदि, होइ, H. हो and so in all, except S. ञ्ञ, and in O. ହୋଇ is contracted

[1] A *pandit* in the present day in India is an individual who is supposed to be deeply read in all the most useless parts of Sanskrit literature, and is densely ignorant and contemptuous of all other branches of human knowledge.

to हे. This verb will be treated at full length further on as the chief auxiliary of these languages (see Chapter IV. § 66).

√ चल् "move," चलति, Pa. *id.* Pr. चलइ, H. S. चल, P. चल्ल, G. चाल, चळ, M. चाल, चल, चळ, O. B. चाल.

√ लग् "stick," लगति, Pa. लगति and लग्गति, Pr. लग्गइ, where the ग्ग is probably caused by the passive लग्यते or the p.p.p. लग्ग, H. लग, P. लग्ग, S. लग्, in the rest लाग. It is neuter in the moderns.

√ कम्प् "tremble," कम्पति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. कंपइ, H. कंप, कांप, P. कम्ब, S. कंब, G. M. B. कांप, O. कम्प.

√ भ्रम् "wander," Pa. भ्रमति, Pr. भ्रमइ (Vik. iv. *passim*), H. भ्रम, भौं, भंव, P. भरम, भौं or भउं, S. भर्म, भम, भउ, भंव, G. भ्रम, भम, M. भोव, भोंव.

There is little that is remarkable in the above list, the modern forms being regularly produced by the working of the usual phonetic laws. The verb *sthâ* "stand," being one of the common auxiliaries, demands a fuller notice. Here follow some of the principal tenses in the old languages:

	SKR.	PA.	PR.		
√ स्था and ष्ठा i. S. 3 pres.	तिष्ठति	तिट्ठति ठाति	चिट्ठइ (*Mâg.*), चिट्ठइ (*Çaur.*), ठाअइ, ठाइ (Var. viii. 25, 26).		
	P. 3. तिष्ठंति	तिट्ठंति, ठांति	चिट्ठंति,	चिट्ठंति,	ठांति.
Impv.	S. 2. तिष्ठ	तिट्ठ	चिट्ठ,	चिट्ठ,	ठाहि.
	S. 3. तिष्ठतु.	तिट्ठतु, ठातु	चिट्ठदु,	चिट्ठदु,	ठाउ.
Future	S. 3. स्थास्यति	ठस्सति			ठाहिइ.
Infin.	स्थातुं	ठातुं	चिट्ठिदुं.		
P.p.p.	स्थितं	ठिट्ठं	चिट्ठिदं,	ट्ठिअं,	ठिअं.
Gerund	स्थित्वा	ठत्वा, ठत्वान	ठित्त,	ठित्र.	

Of the three forms in *Prakrit* that having ठा as its root-syllable has survived to modern times, though in most cases with the dental instead of the cerebral aspirate. In H. there is only a

fragment in the shape of a past participle S. थ्या *m.* थी *f.*, P. थे *m.* थीं *f.* S. G. and O. have a whole verb, thus—

		S.	G.	O.
Infinitive		थिअणु "to be."	थवुं (थाअवुं)	थिवा (थाइवा)
Aorist	S. 1.	थिआं	थाउ	थाएं
(=Skr. pres.)	2.	थिएं, थीं	थाअ (थाय)	थाउ
	3.	थिए	थाअ (थाय)	थाए
	P. 1.	थिऊं	थइए	थाउं
	2.	थिओ	थाओ	थाअ
	3.	थिअनि	थाय	थांति
Present part.		थींदो	थतो	थाउं
Past part.		थिओ	थओ and थयेलो	थिला
Future	S. 3.	थींदो	थशे	थिव
	P. 3.	थींदा	थशे	थिवे

The structure of these forms will be found discussed in Ch. IV. § 69. M. has an old poetical ठेणें "to be," but from the Pr. form चिट्ठ there is, as far as I know, only one descendant, and that is the modern Oriya adjective चिडा "standing," which seems to point to Pr. चिट्ठिअं, Skr. स्थितं.

It is interesting here to notice the parallel treatment of Sanskrit स्था and Latin *sta* in their respective descendants. Both roots survive, but have almost entirely lost the sense of "standing," and have come to mean "be," "become." In S. G. and O. the above quoted verbs are used as auxiliaries denoting a more special and definite kind of being or becoming, and are thus distinguished from the less definite auxiliaries derived from भू or अस्. Sindhi *huanu* and *thiaṇu*, Gujarati *hovuṇ* and *thavuṇ*, Oriya *hoibâ* and *thibâ*, stand to each other exactly in the same relation as Spanish *ser* from *esse* does to *estar* (from *stare*). Thus *Pedro es enamorado* "Pedro is loving (by disposition)," but *Pedro está enamorado* "Pedro is in love (with some one)." So *el es bueno* "he is good (by nature)," but *el está bueno* "he is

well (in health)." In Italian, although *stare* still means "to stand," yet it is constantly and regularly used in the sense of being, thus *sto leggendo* "I am reading," does not imply that the speaker stands while he reads, but merely indicates that he is engaged in reading; just so an Oriya would say *paṛhu thâuṇ*. *Stai bene?* "art thou well?" *sta qui vicino* "he is living close by," would be correctly rendered in O. by the exactly parallel expressions *bhala thâü?* and *ethi nikaṭ thâe*. In French, as in Hindi, the verb has been lost, and a Frenchman has to use the roundabout expression *il se tient debout* for "he is standing," literally "he holds himself on end," just in the same way as the Indian has to say *kharâ hai* literally "he is propped up," (खडा = Pr. खड्ढा = Skr. स्कब्ध from √ स्कभ् to support).

§ 13. Examples of verbs derived from roots which in Sanskrit belong to other conjugations than the first are now adduced to show how completely all traces of the peculiarities of those conjugations have been abandoned.

Skr. √ या "go," ii. याति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. जादि and जाअदि (the latter as if from a Bhû verb याअति), H. जा, P. M. B. *id.*, G. and O. retain जा in some tenses, but in others shorten it to G. ज, O. जि.

√ स्वप् "sleep," ii. स्वपिति, Pa. सुपति, Pr. सुवइ, सुअइ, सुवेइ, H. सो, P. सौं, S. सुम्ह, G. सु, B. and O. सो.

√ भी "fear," iii. बिभेति, Pa. भायति, Pr. भीअइ, भाअदि, वीहइ (Var. iii. 19), M. भि, भे, G. वीह, वीही, विह (not in the rest).

√ नृत "dance," iv. नृत्यति, Pa. नच्चति, Pr. णच्चइ, H. नाच, P. नच्च, S. नच, G. M. O. B. नाच्.

√ शक् "be able," v. शक्नोति and iv. शक्यति, Pa. सक्कति, सक्कोति, सक्कुणोति, Pr. सक्कइ, सक्कणोति, and सक्कु°, H. सक, P. सक्क, S. सघ, G. M. शक.

In *nâch*, as in several other verbs derived from Div roots, the characteristic य of the Div class seems to have got mixed up

with the root and has thus been preserved. Although in *sak* both Pali and Prakrit retain some traces of the peculiar type of the Su class, the moderns entirely reject them and form as if from a Bhû root, thus H. सके "he can," postulates a Sanskrit शक्नति, and so with the other languages.

How the following verb came by its modern form I know not, but all the authorities agree in referring it to √ ब्रू. It is a very common word, and it is just these very common words that are the most difficult to trace. Perhaps ब्रू became बूर, and so बूल and बोल.[1]

Skr. √ ब्रू "speak," ii. ब्रवीति and ब्रूते, Pr. बोल्लइ (Mṛich. 230, end of Act vi.) Old H. बुल्ल (*o* is short in Pr.), H. बोल, S. बोल, all the rest बोल.

§ 14. In the above examples the modern verb retains the form of the present tense, but there is a tolerably large class of stems which retain the type of the p.p.p. of Sanskrit as modified by the Prakrits.[2] These verbs express positions of the body, states or conditions whether material or mental, and the possession of qualities. The past participle of the Sanskrit has been treated as an adjective and a new verb formed form it, just as in English we have verbs "to contract," "to respect," "to edit," from the Latin *contractus, respectus, editus,* the respective past participles of *contrahere, respicere* and *edere.*

The modern Romance languages often preserve a long string of nouns derived from a Latin verbal root, while they have lost the verb itself; for instance, French, while it possesses no verb

[1] Since writing the above I see that Hemachandra gives *bollaï* as one of the ten Prakritisms of *kath;* he means it evidently not as derived from *kath,* which is impossible, but as a popular equivalent (Pischel's Hem. iv. 2). In the same sûtra he gives also *sanghaï* for *kath,* in which we see the origin of M. *sângaṇeṃ* "to speak." Hemachandra has also *bollïaï* = kathayishyati (iv. 360), *bollïum* = kathayitum, *bollïeṃ* = kathyante (*ṭ*), ib. 383. But he gives *bruva* as the equivalent of *brû* in iv. 391, so that the origin of *bol* still remains doubtful.

[2] This process was indicated by me in Vol. I. p. 179. Hoernle afterwards discussed it as if it was his own discovery in Indian Antiquary, vol. i. p. 357. Perhaps he had not then seen my first volume.

directly representing the Latin *sta* "stand," has numerous nouns from that root, as *station*, *étage*, from *statio*, *état* from *status*. From these nouns fresh verbs are derived, as *stationner* and the like. So also the modern Indian languages, while they have lost such roots as *dip*, *kram*, as verbs, have nouns *dipá*, *diyá* and derivatives, also *krama* as a noun with numerous secondary formations.

Analogous to this is the practice we are now discussing of forming verbs from Sanskrit participles, a practice which begins as early as Prakrit, and appears to have arisen from the habit mentioned in § 2 of forming a definite preterite by compounding the participle with अस्, as in गतोऽस्मि "I have gone." It was pointed out in § 7 that this practice had been extended in Prakrit so widely that it had resulted in giving a termination in म्हि to the present tense, as in पेसिद्म्हि. Examples are:

Skr. √ विश् "enter," with उप, उपविश् "take a seat," *i.e.* to pass from a standing to a sitting posture, p.p.p. उपविष्ट "seated," Pa. उपविट्ठो, Pr. उवविट्ठो, and later उवट्ठो, whence, by rejection of उ, H. बैठ, P. *id.*, M. बैस, where the last consonant is due to a confusion between बैठ् and बस. G. has बेश्, which is from Skr. pres. उपविशति. Its p.p.p. is बेठो. S. also विह by softening of स to ह, p.p.p. बेठो. With प्र, प्रविश्, "enter," "penetrate," P. पविट्ठो, Pr. पट्ठो, whence H. पैठ, "to enter" (generally with the idea of penetrating forcibly). G. again पेश् from प्रविशति, p.p.p. पेठो, S. पिह, p.p.p. पेठो.

Skr. √ पच् "cook," पचति, p.p.p. पक्क, Pa. Pr. पक्को, H. पक "to be cooked," to be in process of cooking (if you ask, "Is dinner ready?" your man answers, पकता "It is being cooked"), P. पक्क, G. पाक, M. पिक. It also means "to ripen," "to be in course of growing ripe," B. पाक. There is also a stem from the present पचति, as S. पच् "to grow ripe," p.p.p. पको. H. and all the rest have पच, but in the sense of rotting, decaying.

Skr. √ शुष् "dry," p.p.p. शुष्क, Pa. Pr. सुक्खो, H. सूख "to be dry," P. सुक्ख, S. G. M. सुक, B. O. शुक.

Skr. √ भञ्ज् "break," p.p.p. भग्न, Pa. Pr. भग्गो, H. भाग "to flee" (said originally of an army, "to be broken up and dispersed"), G. भाग, M. भांग, "to yield, give way," also भंग *a*, "to break," O. भांग. Here again there are stems as if from the present form Bhû भंजति, Pa. भंजति, Pr. भंजइ, H. भंज "to be broken," and भज. (See § 19.)

Skr. √ गम् "go," with उद्, p.p.p. उद्गत "sprung up," Pr. उग्गओ, H. उग, "to spring up" (as a plant), P. उग्ग, S. G. उग, M. उगव.

It is questionable whether we should here class some words which come from √ भृ with उद्. The present would be उद्भरति, but though the p.p.p. in Sanskrit is उद्भृत, yet in such verbs Prakrit forms the p.p.p. on the model of the present tense, and has उब्भरिओ as if from Skr. उद्भरित, so that the modern verbs उभर, उभल, and the like keep the type of the present tense as much as that of the participle.

Another very common word is उद् "to rise," but in this case Prakrit has already adopted this form for all parts of the verb, as has also Pali; thus from √ उद् + स्था Skr. makes उत्था "to stand up."

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Present	S. 3. उत्तिष्ठति	उट्ठहति, उट्ठाति	उट्ठदि, उट्ठेदि, उट्ठेइ
Impv.	S. 2. उत्तिष्ठ	उट्ठह	उट्ठेहि
	S. 3. उत्तिष्ठतु	उट्ठतु	उट्ठेउ
Future	S. 3. उत्थास्यति	उट्ठहिस्सदि	उट्ठिस्सइ
Pres. part.	उत्तिष्ठत्	उट्ठन्तो	उट्ठंतो
P.p.p.	उत्थित	उट्ठितो	उट्ठिदो, उट्ठिओ
Infin.	उत्थातुं	उट्ठातुं	—
Gerund	उत्थाय	उट्ठाय, उट्ठहित्वा	उट्ठिअ

Here, whatever be the form taken in Sanskrit, both Pali and Prakrit assume a stem उट्ठ, and conjugate it as if it were a Bhû verb throughout. It seems as though उद् being com-

pounded with ष्ठा had lost its final consonant, thereby making a form उष्ठा, whence Prakrit उट्ठ. Sanskrit has adopted the opposite course, and while keeping उद् intact, has sacrificed the स of स्था in the non-conjugational tenses, retaining it in the conjugational ones where it is prevented from coalescing with the preposition by the reduplicated syllable. In the moderns we have H. उठ, P. उट्ठ, S. उथ and उठ, and in all the rest उठ.

The stem रह् has undergone a change of meaning which is explainable only by bringing it under this head.

Skr. √ रह "desert," रहति, usually found in Prakrit only in the p.p.p., रहिओ (= रहित) in the sense of "deserted," then almost adverbially, as "without," hence probably the meaning which it bears in the modern languages, "to stop," "stay," "remain," from the idea of being deserted, left behind. It is रह in H. and all except M. राह, G. रेह. It is ancillary in most of the languages as पढते रहो "go on reading." (See § 72, 10).

§ 15. Single active stems exhibit the same method of formation as the single neuter stems given in § 12. A few examples are given of roots which in Sanskrit are of the Bhû, or the closely allied Div, Tud, and Chor classes.

Skr. √ खाद् "eat," खादति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. खाइ (Var. viii. 27, for खाअइ), H. खा, and so in all. Gipsy *khava*, Kash. *khyun*, Singhalese *kanavâ*.[1]

Skr. √ चर्व "chew," चर्वति, Pr. चव्वइ, H. चाव, P. चब्ब, S. चब्, G. M. चाव, O. चोवा, B. चाव.

Skr. √ पठ् "read," पठति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. पढइ, H. पढ (parh), P. M. G. *id.*, S. पडह (which is only their way of writing पढ), B. पड, O. पढ़.

Skr. √ प्रच्छ् "ask," पृच्छति, Pa. पुच्छति, Pr. पुच्छइ, H. पूछ, P. पुच्छ, G. B. *id.*, M. पुस् (see Vol. I. p. 218), O. पुछ, पचार.

Skr. √ मार्ग् (and मृग्) "seek," i. मार्गति, x. मार्गयति, Pa. मग्गति and मग्गेति, Pr. मग्गइ, H. मांग, P. मंग, S. मङ् (*mang*), G. M. माग, B. मांग, O. माग.

[1] Childers, in J.R.A.S. vol. viii. p. 146.

Skr. √ रक्ष् "keep," रक्षति, Pa. रक्खति, Pr. रक्खइ, H. रख "keep," also simply "to put," पोथी को पीढे पर रखो "put the book on the stool," P. रक्ख, S. रख, G. M. B. राख, O. रख, Singh. *rakinavâ*.

Skr. √ कथ् "say," कथयति, P. कथेति, Pr. कहइ, कहेइ, H. कह, P. S. B. O. *id.* In M. it is wanting. G. केह, Singh. *kiyanavâ*.

Those roots which belong to other conjugations are almost always reduced to the Bhû type, even if Prakrit retains any of the conjugational peculiarities the moderns do not. They take in most instances the root-form of the present as it occurs in Prakrit, and keep it throughout. Instances are:

Skr. √ ज्ञा "know," ix. जानाति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. जाणाति, also जाणइ (Pr. keeps जाण throughout, but it and Pa. occasionally drop the initial, having आणादि, etc.), H. B. जान, the rest जाण. Gipsy *janava*, Kash. *zânun*, Singh. *dannavâ*.

Skr. √ कृ "do," viii. करोति, Pa. *id.* (see § 1 and § 4), Pr. कुणइ and करइ and the stem कर is adopted in most tenses. The moderns universally reject all forms but कर, which they use throughout except in the p.p.p., which is the phonetic equivalent of Prakrit (see § 48).

Skr. √ श्रु "hear," v. शृणोति, Pa. सुणोति, सुणाति, Pr. सुणइ, H. सुन, and in all सुन or सुण.

Skr. √ आप "get," v. आप्नोति (but also i. आपति), Pa. आपुनोति, आपुनाति and अप्पोति, Pr. (see § 5) आवइ, seldom used alone. Old H. अप्प "to obtain," also used in the sense of giving.

अप्प शक्ति सरसें सबल ॥

"Having obtained wisdom and the aid of Sarasen (Saraswati)."
—Chand, Pr. R. i. xv.

Also G. आप "to give," which is the ordinary word in that language, may be from this root or from अर्प् (चु). Far more common is the compound with प्र = प्राप, Pa. as above. Pr. पाउणइ and later पावइ, Old H. and P. पाउ, H. पाव and पा, S. पा, O. *id.*, G. पाम, M. पाव, B. पाओ. In all in the sense of finding, getting, obtaining.

Skr. √ ग्रह "seize," ix. गृह्णाति. The treatment of this root is peculiar. Pa. for the most part takes a form गण्ह, and Pr. generally गेण्ह. Some of the principal tenses are given here.

	SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 3. गृह्णाति	गण्हाति, गण्हति	गेण्हइ
Âtm. Pres.	S. 1. गृह्णे	„ „	गेण्हे
1 Aor.	S. 3. अग्रहीत्	अग्गहि, अग्गंहि	„
Impv.	S. 2. गृहाण	गण्ह, गण्हहि	गेण्ह, गेण्हह
	S. 3. गृह्णातु	गण्हदु	गेण्हदु
Impv. Âtm.	P. 2. गृह्णीध्वं	गण्हद्धो	गेण्हध
Fut.	S. 1. ग्रहीष्यामि	गण्हिस्सं	गेण्हिस्सं
	S. 3. ग्रहीष्यति	गण्हिस्सति, गहेस्सति	गेण्हिस्सइ
Infin.	ग्रहीतुं	गण्हितुं	गेण्हिदुं, गहिदुं, घेत्तुं
P.p.p.	गृहीत	गहितो	गहिदो, गिहिदो
Gerund	गृहीत्वा	गण्हित्वा	गेण्हिअ, घेत्तून

There are thus two types in Pa. *gaṇh* and *gah*, and three in Pr. *geṇh*, *gah*, and *ghe*. The double *t* in *ghettum* and *ghettúna* arises, I fancy, from *e* being short in Pr., and is not an organic part of the word (Var. viii. 15).

In the modern languages H. has गह as an archaic and poetic word. P. also गह. But M. घे "take," is very much used, as also S. गिन्ह, and O. घेन, the other languages prefer the stem ले from लभ्. Singh. *gannavâ*, perhaps Gipsy *gelava*, is connected with this root, though it means rather "to bring." (Paspati, p. 241.)

§ 16. Some Sanskrit roots ending in vowels have undergone curious and interesting changes in the modern languages. Such is Skr. √ दा "give," iii. ददाति. This is one of the primitive Indo-European race-words, and being such we probably have not got it in its original form in Sanskrit. With the idea of giving is intimately connected that of dividing, or apportioning, and we find in Sanskrit several roots with this meaning, all of which seem to point back to some earlier

common root which has been lost. Thus we have √ दा, iii. ददाति "give," √ दा or दो, ii. दाति and iv. द्यति "divide," √ दाय, i. दायते and दे i. दयते. Some grammarians, misunderstanding a rule of Panini's about reduplication, have imagined a √ ददे, i. ददते, but this does not seem to be entitled to a separate existence.[1] It is also to be observed that in some roots in *â* there are traces of a form in *e* or *ai*, which may perhaps be the older form, as गा and गै "to sing," ध्या and ध्यै "to meditate," ग्ला and ग्लै "to languish," म्ला and म्लै "to wither," त्रा and त्रै "to rescue," मा and मे "to measure." Also roots ending in *â* exhibit in the course of conjugation many forms in which the root-vowel is changed to *i* or *e*. It is not within our scope to do more than hint at all these points, as possibly accounting for the fact that at a very early stage the root दा began to be superseded by दे, and that in the modern languages the universal form is *DE*. The principal tenses in Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit are here shown together.

		SKR.	PA.	PR.
Pres.	S. 1.	ददामि	ददामि, देमि, दम्मि, दज्जामि	देमि
	S. 3.	ददाति	ददाति, देति, दज्जति	देइ, दइ
	P. 1.	दद्मः	दम्म, देम	देमो
	P. 3.	ददति	देंति	देंति
Impv.	S. 2.	देहि	देहि	देहि
	S. 3.	ददातु	देतु	देउ
Âtm.	P. 2.	दद्ध्वं	देथ, ददाथ	देध
Fut.	S. 3.	दास्यति	दस्सति	दइस्सइ, दाहइ
Infin.		दातुं	दातुं	दाउं, देउं
Pres. Part.		ददत्	ददन्तो, देन्तो	देंतो (देंती f.)
P.p.p.		दत्त	दिन्नो	दिण्णो
Gerund		दत्त्वा	दत्वा, दाय, ददित्वा	दाऊण, दच्चा, दइअ

[1] Westergaard, Rad. Sanskr. p. 6, note.

Childers thinks the form *deti* has arisen either from Sanskrit *dayate*, or from confusion with the imperative *dehi*. The form *dajjati* he, with great probability, considers as a future on the analogy of *dekh* (see § 4). In Çauraseni Prakrit the form दे is used throughout (Var. xii. 4), as also in the moderns. H. दे, P. M. G. *id.*, S. डिअ, B. alone has दा, O. दे, shortened in some tenses to दि. Gipsy *dava*, Kash. *dyun*, Singh. *denava*. This is one of the few irregular verbs in the modern languages; being subjected to numerous contractions, and retaining several early Tadbhava forms.

Further examples are:

Skr. √ पा "drink," i. पिवति [Vedic पाति, there is also √ पी, iv. पीयते], Pa. पिवति and पिव°, Pr. पिअइ, H. पी, S. and B. पि, in all the rest पी. Gipsy *pîva*, Kash. *chyun*, perhaps through an old form *pyun*, Singh. *bonava*, p.p.p. *bî*.

Skr. √ नी "lead," i. नयति, Pa. नयति, नेति, Pr. नेइ, णेइ (pres. part. णअंतो = Skr. नयन्, fut. णइस्सं = Skr. नेष्यामि, Impv. णेह = Skr. नय). Used in the moderns only in composition, thus—

(*a*) With आ = आनी "bring," Pa. आनेति, Pr. आणेइ, H. आन "bring," in all the rest आण. Kashm. *anun*, Gipsy *andva*.

(*b*) With परि = परिनी "lead round the sacrificial fire during the marriage ceremony," hence, "to marry," Old-H. परण, परना, P. परनाज, S. पर्ण, G. M. परण.

Skr. √ डी "fly," with उद् = उड्डी "fly up," i. उड्डयते, iv. उड्डीयते, Pr. उड्डेइ, H. उड (ur) "to fly," and so in all. S. has उडिर, probably a diminutive. Kashm. *wudun*, Gipsy *uryáva*.

The root या "to go," was mentioned above; with the preposition आ forming आया, it means "to come," and it is from this word that the following are apparently derived:

Skr. आया "come," ii. आयाति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. आआइ, आइ, H. आ "to come," P. *id.*, G. आव, M. ये, Gipsy *avdva*, Kash. *yun*. The B.

आइस, O. आस, S. अच seem to come from आगच्छति, but both in B. and O. one often hears आ, thus O. *āsilā* or *āilā*, "he came," and S. makes the imperv. *āu*, so that there is some confusion between the two roots.

In the roots ending in long *i* the modern languages have words descended from compound verbs only, and in them the final vowel of the root has dropped out altogether, while in roots ending in long *a* there is a tendency to soften the final vowel into *i* or *e*.

§ 17. A few words must be given to a verb which has been somewhat hotly discussed of late. In all the modern languages except perhaps M., the idea of seeing is expressed by *dekh*. Kashmiri has *deshun*, Gipsy *dikáva*, and Singhalese *dikanava*. The root is in Sanskrit √ दृश्, but the present is not in use; instead of it classical Sanskrit uses पश्यति, from which M. derives its verb पाह. Marathi stands alone in using this stem, instead of *dekh*. From √ दृश् comes future द्रक्ष्यति, and it is from this future that Childers derives the Pali दक्खति. He shows[1] that in the earlier Pali writings it is always used in a future sense, and only in later times becomes a present. As I hinted above (§ 4, p. 16), it is very probable that the vulgar, missing in this word the characteristic *issa* of their ordinary future, considered it a present, and made a double future *dakkhissati*. A similar process has been shown to have taken place in several verbs in Prakrit. Pischel draws attention to a fact pointed out in Vol. I. p. 162 of this work, that there is much similarity between *dekh* and the Prakrit *pekkh* from Sanskrit प्रेक्ष्. He, however, goes so far as to assume that the word *dekh* was unknown to the authors of the dramas, that they used *pekkh*, which has been changed to *dekkh* by the copy-

[1] In Kuhn's Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung, vol. vii. p. 450. Pischel's article is in the same work.

ists who heard this latter word used round them every day, while they did not know of *pekh*. Unfortunately for this ingenious theory, it happens that the word *pekh* is extremely common in Hindi, Bangali, and Panjabi literature of the middle ages, and is still used in many rustic dialects of Hindi. The idea of a northern Indian scribe not knowing *pekh* is quite untenable. Weber (Prakrit Studien, p. 69) has a long article on this subject, controverting the views of Childers as supported by Pischel. The learned professor would derive *dekkh* from the desiderative of दृश्, which is दिदृक्षते, but I am unable to follow the arguments adduced, or to see how a word meaning "to wish to see" should come to mean "to see." Nor do there appear to be any actual facts in support of this theory, such as texts in which the word occurs in a transitional state of meaning or form. The few desideratives that have left any traces in modern times retain the desiderative meaning, as *piyâsá* "thirsty," from *pipâsu* (see Vol. II. p. 81). However, I must say to the learned disputants—

"Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites."

For my own part the impression I derive from the controversy is that *dekh* is derived through *dekkh* from *dakkh*, which is Sanskrit future द्रक्ष्यति turned into a present by a vulgar error. The idea suggested by me (in Vol. I. p. 161 *et seqq.*) must be modified accordingly. It was not so entirely erroneous as Pischel thinks, for Sanskrit श् represents an older क्, which seems to be preserved in the future.

§ 18. The examples adduced in the preceding sections will have sufficiently illustrated the most salient peculiarities in the formation of the ordinary single verbs whether neuter or active, and I now pass on to the more difficult subject of the double verbs. As I mentioned before, there is a very large class of these; they appear in two forms, one of which is active and

occasionally even causal, the other is neuter or passive intransitive. It is after much consideration that I have come to the conclusion that this is the right way to regard them. It might be said that the forms which are here spoken of as neuters are really passives, and a rule might be laid down that these languages often form their passive by what the Germans call *umlaut* or substitution of weaker vowels. Childers in fact takes this view as regards Singhalese in the article already quoted (J. R. A. S. vol. viii. p. 148). I do not know how the matter may stand in Singhalese, but it is certainly open to much objection as regards the Aryan languages of the Indian continent. The neuters differ from the actives in two ways in the seven languages, either by a change in the final consonant of the stem or by a change in the vowel only. The latter is by far the more frequent. We must not be misled by the accident that many of these neuters can only be translated into English by a passive; that is the peculiarity of our own language, not of the Indian ones. In German or in the Romance languages they can be rendered by the reflexive verb. Thus H. खुलना is "to open," *i.e.* "to open of itself," "to come undone," "to be opened," while खोलना, the corresponding active, is "to open," *i.e.* "to break a thing open," "to undo." Thus द्वार खुलता "the door opens," is in German "die Thür öffnet sich," in French "la porte s'ouvre." While द्वार खोलता "he opens the door," is in German "er öffnet die Thür," in French "il ouvre la porte." So that फिरना is "sich umkehren," while its active फेरना is "umkehren (etwas)." In English we use verbs in a neuter as well as in an active sense, relying upon the context to make our meaning clear.

Moreover, all the languages have a passive, in some a regularly formed derivative from Prakrit, in others a periphrastic arrangement. It is true that, owing to the large number of neuter stems, this regular passive is not very much used; but it is there nevertheless, and would not have been invented had

forms which I regard as neuters been true "umlautend" passives.

Of the double verbs, then, as I prefer to call them, some differ only in the vowel, and the difference consists in this that where the vowel of the neuter is always short, as *a*, *i* or *u*, the corresponding active has *â*, *e* or *o*, occasionally *î* or *û*. As types may be taken, H. *kaṭnâ*, *n*, and *kâṭnâ*, *a*; *phirnâ*, *n*, and *phernâ*, *a*; *khulnâ*, *n*, and *kholnâ*, *a*; *lipnâ*, *n*, and *lipnâ*, *a*; *guthnâ*, *n*, and *gûthnâ*, *a*. Of the other class, in which the final consonant differs, there are so many varieties, that it will be better to discuss them separately. Sindhi has the largest number of them, and it is with Sindhi therefore that we must begin.

§ 19. Trumpp (Sindhi Gr. p. 252) gives a list of these verbal stems, but it would have been out of place for him to have offered any analysis. The following verbs I take from him, but the explanations are my own. The first group consists of these verbs.

(1.) Neuter ending in झ.	Active ending in ध.
1. बझणु "to be bound,"	बंधणु "to bind."
2. बुझणु "to be heard,"	बुंधणु "to hear."
3. रझणु "to be cooked,"	रंधणु "to cook."

1. Skr. √ बंध्, iv. बध्नाति, Pa. बंधति, Pr. बंधद्, whence S. बंध, H. बांध, P. बन्ह. In all the rest बांध *a*. Skr. passive is बध्यते, whence Pa. बज्झति, Pr. बज्झद्, S. बझ, H. बझ, used as a hunting term "to be caught," also "to stick, adhere," P. बज्झन. Here, though undoubtedly derived from the passive, the stem बझ is really a neuter or passive intransitive and its conjugation closely resembles the active. There is a regular passive S. बंधिजणु.

2. Skr. √ बुध् "to know," i. बोधते, iv. बुध्यते, from the latter come Pa. बुज्झति and Pr. बुज्झद्, whence S. बुझ, originally "to know," but now meaning "to be heard," H. बूझना "to understand," is active. So also

O. वुज्झ, B. बूझ, G. बुज. But M. वुझ is both *a* and *n*. The form of the iv. conjugation is identical with the passive, hence S. makes वुझ a neuter and बुंध is probably due to a false analogy with बंध.

°3. Skr. √ रध् or रंध् i. रंधति originally "to destroy," but in moderns always "to cook," Pa. *id.*, Pr. रंधद्, S. रंध, H. रांध *a*, and so in all but P. Passive रध्यते, Pa. रज्झति, Pr. रज्झद्, S. रझ, not found in the others.

(2.) Neuter in भ.	Active in ह.
1. लभणु "to be got,"	लहणु "to seize."
2. यभणु "stuprari" (de muliere),	यहणु "stuprare" (de viro).
3. डुभणु "to be milked,"	डुहणु "to milk."

1. Skr. √ लभ् "to get," i. लभते, Pa. लभति, Pr. लहद् (भ=ह Vol. I. p. 268), S. लह, Old H. लह, H. ले, P. लहि and लै, G. ले, M. ने, O. ने, B. लओ, all *a*. Pass. लभ्यते, Pa. लब्भति, Pr. लब्भद्, S. लभ, Old H. लब्भ, not in the others.

2. Skr. √ यभ् "coïre," i. यभति, Pr. जहद्, S. यह, Pass. यभ्यते, Pr. जब्भद्, S. यभे. Not in the others, except perhaps M. झवणें, where the aspiration has been thrown back on the ज.

3. Skr. √ दुह्, ii. दोग्धि, Pa. दोहति, Pr. दोहद् and दुहद्, S. डुह, H. दुह and दोह, and so in all *a*. Pass. दुह्यते, Pa. दुह्यति (Childers writes *duyhati*, which can hardly be expressed in Devanagarl letters), Pr. दुज्झद्. From this we should expect S. डुझे. The form डुभे recalls a similar one in Jainn Pr. सिब्भद् for सिज्झद् (Weber, Bhâg. 389, 429), Skr. सिध्यते, but this seems to rest upon a doubtful reading of one of those obscure composite characters sometimes found in MSS. written with the thick Indian reed pen. See also Cowell's Var. viii. 59, note.[1] Possibly we have here again a false analogy with लभ, like बुंध with बंध.

[1] Hemachandra collects a number of passives in *bh* from roots ending in *h*, dubbhaï, libbhaï, vabbhaï, rubbhaï, from duh, lih, vah, ruh (or ruddh?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 245.

(3.) Neuter in झ.	Active in ह.
ड़झ्झणु "to be envious,"	ड़हणु "to torment."

Skr. √ दह् "burn," i. दहति, Pa. डहति, Pr. दहइ, S. डह, H. डाह, दाह, Pass. दह्यते, Pa. डह्यति (Childers *dayhati*), Pr. दज्झ, S. ड़झ.

(4.) Neuter in ञ़.	Active in ञ, ण, न.
1. भञ़णु "to be broken,"	भञ्जणु "to break."
2. भुञ़णु "to be fried,"	भुञ्जणु "to fry."
3. छिञ़णु "to be plucked,"	छिन्नणु "to pluck."
4. सुञ़णु "to be heard,"	सुणणु "to hear."
5. खञ़णु "to be raised,"	खणणु "to raise."

1. Skr. √ भंज् "break," vii. भनक्ति, Pa. भंजति, Pr. भंजइ; ञ्ज becomes in S. ञ, hence भञ, Pass. भज्यते, Pr. भज्जइ, S. भञ़ (ज्ञ = ञ़), H. भंज and भज,

पुरुषातन भजै कित्ति हान ॥

"Manliness is broken, fame destroyed."—Chand, Pr. R. i. 172.

P. भञ्ज, G. भांज.

2. Skr. √ भञ्ज or भृज्, i. भर्जते, vi. भृज्जति, Pa. भज्जति. Pr. would probably be भुजइ. I have not met the word भुंजइ (Bhâg. 278) is from भुंज् "to enjoy," S. भुञ postulates a Pr. भुंज. In the other languages the *n* occurs. H. भुन "to *fry*," and भून, P. भुन्न, G. भुज, M. भाज, but also भुंज, O. भाज, B. *id.*, Pass. भृज्यते, which would give Pr. भुज्जइ, whence S. भुञ़, but the whole stem is somewhat obscure. P. भुज्ज *n.*

3. Skr. √ छिद् "cleave," vii. छिनत्ति, Pa. छिन्दति, Pr. छिन्दइ (Var. viii. 38), whence S. छिन by the process रन = रण्डा (Vol. I. p. 299), Pass. छिद्यते, Pa. छिज्जति, Pr. छिज्जइ, S. छिञ़.

4. Skr. √ श्रु "hear," which, as already explained, is always सुण in Prakrit and in modern languages. Pass. श्रूयते, Pa. सूयति or सुय्यति, Pr. generally सुनिज्जइ (Var. viii. 57), also सुव्वइ, but a form सुज्जइ is also possible, whence S. सुञ़.

5. Skr. √ स्कंद् "rise," i. स्कंदति, which would give a Pr. खण्डइ, whence S. खण, Pass. स्कद्यते, Pr. खज्जइ, S. खज़. This stem does not seem to occur in the other languages, it is peculiar to S., and must not be confounded with खणणु "to dig," from Skr. √ खन्, nor with Skr. खण्ड् "to divide."

(5.) Neuter in स.	Active in ह.
1. कुसणु "to be slain,"	कुहणु "to slay."
2. गसणु "to be rubbed."	गहणु "to rub."
3. लूसणु "to be scorched."	लूहणु "to scorch."
4. मुसणु "to suffer loss."	मुहणु "to inflict loss."

1. Skr. √ क्षप् and कुप् "tear" "drag," i. कुषति, Pr. कुसइ, S. कुह, (स = ह, Vol. I. p. 259), Pass. कुष्यते, Pr. would be कुस्सइ, whence S. कुस, by rejection of one *s*. Persian کُشتن "to kill."

2. Skr. √ घृष् "rub," i. घर्षति, Pr. घसइ, S. गह, Pass. घृष्यते, Pr. घिस्सइ and घस्सइ, S. गस. The other languages have a different series of stems. H. घस and घिस, *n* and *a*, घसीट, *a*, P. *id.*, G. घस and घसड, *a*, M. घास, घसट, घांस *n* and *a*, O. B. घस.

3. Skr. √ लूष् "burn," i. लूषति, Pr. लूसइ, S. लूह, Pass. लूष्यते, Pr. लूस्सइ, S. लूस.

4. Skr. √ मुष् "rob," i. मुषति, Pa. मुसति, Pr. मुसइ, S. मुह, Pass. मुष्यते, Pr. मुस्सइ, S. मुस.

There are several other pairs of stems which exhibit special types; all, however, are explainable by the above noted process. Thus—

(6.) Neuter in प.	Active in ह.
कुपणु "to be touched,"	कुहणु "to touch."

Skr. √ कुप् "touch," i. कुपति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. कुपइ. प being unsupported goes out and ह is employed to fill up the hiatus, giving S. कुह. Pass. कुप्यते, Pr. कुप्पइ, whence S. कुप, by rejection of one प. In the other languages only the active is found. Old-H. कुह, H. कू, P. कुह and कूह, G. कु, कू, को, O. कुं, B. *id.*

§ 20. There is a group of words running through nearly all the seven languages in which the divergence between the two members of each pair is slighter than that just discussed. It consists in the final consonant of the neuter being the surd cerebral ट, while that of the active is the sonant ड; the neuter at the same time has the simple short vowel while the active has the corresponding guna vowel.

The words are in Hindi.

Neuter.	Active.
1. छुट "get loose,"	छोड "set free."
2. टुट (तुट) "fall in pieces,"	टोड (तोड) "break."
3. फट "burst, split,"	फाड "tear."
4. फिट "be discharged,"	फेड "*discharge*."
5. फुट "be squashed,"	फोड "squash."
6. जुट "be joined,"	जोड "join."

The process in these words differs somewhat from that in the Sindhi stems in the last section, as will be seen from the following remarks.

1. Skr. √ छुट् (also चुट्, चुंट Westergaard, Rad. Skr. p. 128) "to cut," vi. छुटति, but the Bhû type would be छोटति, Pr. छोडइ, H. छोड, and so in all except M., which has सोड, with its usual change of छ to स (Vol. *I.* p. 218). H., which is pronounced *chhor*, while M. is *sod*, is active, and so is the word in all the other languages. It means "to release, let go, loose." Pass. छुट्यते, Pr. छुट्टइ, whence H. छुट, and so in all, but M. सुट. It is neuter and means "to get free, be unloosed, slip out of one's grasp, come untied."

The modern languages appear to have mixed up with this verb one that comes from a totally different root, namely—

Skr. √ कृद् "vomit," vii. कृणत्ति, also i. कर्दति and x. कर्दयति, Pa. कड्ढति, Pr. कड्डइ and कड्डइ, Old H. कड, P. कड्ढ, B. काड, O. *id.*, H. काड, M. सांड. These words all mean "to reject, abandon," and thus

come round to the same meaning as छोड, with which in consequence B. confuses it. So does Oriya. Even so early as Pali the meaning has passed over from that of vomiting to rejecting, releasing and the like. In modern H., however, छांडना retains the meaning of vomiting, and M. सांड means "to spill," with secondary senses of "giving up," "letting go."

2. Skr. √ चुट् "break" (*n*), i. चुटति, iv. चुट्यति, Pr. तुडइ, H. तूट and टूट, with abnormally long *u*, P. टुट्ट, S. टुट, B. *id.*, M. तुट. It is neuter in all and means "to be broken, to break itself." Being neuter in Sanskrit, a new process has to be brought into play, namely, *causal* चोटयति, H. तोड, and so in all but S. टोड. It is active, meaning "to break in pieces, tear, smash."

3. Skr. √ स्फट् has three forms, each of which has left modern descendants, and there is a different shade of meaning to each of the three groups.

(*a*) √ स्फट् "split," i. स्फटति, Pa. फरति and फलति (ट = ड = ल), Pr. फलइ and फटइ, H. फट (rustic फाट), P. S. फट and फाट, the rest only फाट, neuter.

Causal स्फाटयति, Pr. फाडेइ, H. फाड and so in all. This group with stem-vowel A indicates the splitting, cleaving, or rending asunder of rigid objects. Thus we say in H. काठ धूप में फटे "the wood splits, or cracks, in the sun," but काठ को टांगी से फाडे "he cleaves the wood with an axe."

(*b*) √ स्फिट् "hurt," x. स्फिटयति, but also vi. स्फिटति, Pr. फिटइ, H. फिट, and so in all but P. फिट्ट, neuter.

Causal स्फेटयति, Pr. फेटइ and फेडइ, H. फेट, फेंट and फेड, and so in all but B. active. This group, with stem vowel I, implies, gently loosing or breaking up into small pieces. It is used for beating up into froth, winding thread, untying; also metaphorically getting out of debt, discharging an obligation, and in P. injuring.

(*c*) √ स्फुट "burst open," i. स्फोटति, vi. स्फुटति, Pa. फुटति,

Pr. फुट्टइ or फुडइ (Var. viii. 53), H. फुट and फूट, all the rest फुट, except P. फुट्ट, neuter.

Causal स्फोटयति, Pr. फोडेइ, H. फोड, and so on in all but B. फोट. Words with the stem vowel U imply the breaking or bursting of soft squashy things, as a ripe fruit, a flower bud, a boil and the like. Only in M. is there some idea of splitting or cracking, but there also the more general idea is that of squashing, as डोले फुटले "the eyeballs burst."

6. Skr. √ जुट or जुड, a somewhat doubtful root, looking like a secondary formation from युज्. It must have had a definite existence in the spoken language as its descendants show. They appear to have treated it as a neuter pres. जुडति, जुटति. Pa. and Pr. do not appear to know this root, which, however, is very common in the moderns. H. जुट "to be joined," also जुड, and so in all.

Causal जोटयति, H. जोड, and so in all except P. जुट्ट and जूड, meaning "to join two things together."

These instances suffice to exhibit the nature of the parallel that exists between twin verbs of this class, which is a somewhat limited one.

§ 21. More usual is the difference which consists simply in the change of vowel of which I will now give some examples:

1. Skr. √ तॄ "cross over," i. तरति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. तरइ, in all तरन "to be crossed over," metaphorically "to be saved."

Causal तारयति "to take across, save," Pa. तारेति, Pr. तारेइ and तीरेइ (Var. viii. 70). In all तार "to save." The word is one which belongs chiefly to religious poetry, but its compound form with उद् is a word of every-day use; viz.

2. Skr. √ उत्तॄ, Pres. उत्तरति "descend," H. उतर, and in all except S. It is *n*, and is used with a very wide range of meanings all akin to

that of coming down; as alight, descend, fall off, drop down, disembark, abate, decrease.

Causal उत्तारयति "take down," H. उतार, and so in all except G. and O. Active, meaning "pull down, take off, unload, discharge, cast out."

3. Skr. √ मृ "die," vi. म्रियते, Pa. मरति, Pr. मरइ, H. मर, and so in all.

Causal मारयति, Pa. मारापेति, Pr. मारेइ, H. मार in all, but not necessarily meaning "to kill." It rather means "to beat"; the sense of killing is generally expressed by adding to मार the ancillary डाल "throw" (see § 72, 12).

4. Skr. √ सृ "move," i. सरति, Pr. सरइ. In H. सर neuter, means "to be completed," and in all it has the general sense of being settled, getting done. In O. to come to an end, be done with, as से कर्म सरि गला "that affair is done with."

Causal सारयति, Pr. सारेइ, H. सार "to finish," and in all. In O. this verb becomes ancillary (see § 72).

5. Skr. √ हृ "seize," i. हरति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. हरइ. This verb is peculiar. H. हर*a*, "to seize," so also in G. P. B. In these languages it has the sense of winning a game, a battle, or a lawsuit. In M. हर means first to carry off, then to win. In this sense it is active, as त्यानें पहिल्या डावास शंभर रुपये मांडले ते म्यां हरले "In the first game he staked 100 rupees, that I *won*." When used as a neuter, it means to lose, as मी वाद हरलों "I lost the lawsuit."[1]

Causal हारयति, Pa. हारापेति and हारेति, Pr. हारेइ, H. हार, and so in all but M. *n.* In these languages it means to lose at play, etc. M. is here also somewhat difficult, and Molesworth admits that हार and हर are sometimes confused. Thus it is active in the sense of

[1] See Molesworth's Marathi Dict. s. v. हर and हार.

winning, as म्यां त्याचे शंभर रुपये हारले "I won from him 100 rupees."

The use of the causal in the sense of losing goes back to Sanskrit times, where the meaning is "to cause to seize," and then "to permit (another) to seize," hence "to lose." So also in Prakrit, in Mr. 38, the Samvâhaka says: भाअधेअविअमदाए दअसुवण्णअं जूदे हालिदं (Skr. भागधेयविषमतया दशसुवर्णकं द्यूते हारितं sc. मया) "By the untowardness of fortune I lost ten suvarnas at play." From this and similar instances it would appear that in M. it would be etymologically more correct to use हर in the sense of winning, and हार in that of losing; which usage would be more in unison with that of the cognate languages. In Kash. *hárun* is stated to mean both lose and win, but there must be some way of distinguishing the two meanings.

Some more examples may now be given of pairs of words derived from Sanskrit roots ending in a consonant.

1. Skr. √ स्फर् and स्फुर् "tremble," i. स्फरति, Pa. फरति, Pr. फुरइ. If I am right in my derivation, there must either have been a third root स्फिर् (as in स्फट्, स्फिट्, स्फुट्), or the moderns have softened *a* to *i*, the former is the more probable. H. फिर *n* "to turn (oneself)," "to spin round," "revolve," and so in all except G. It is perhaps on the analogy of similar roots, and not directly from a causal of स्फिर्, that all the moderns have फेर *a* "to turn (a thing) round," "to make it revolve."

2. Skr. √ घूर्ण् "to move to and fro" (*n*). Allied to this is घुण, i. घोणते, apparently unknown in Pali, Pr. घोलइ, H. घुल, P. M. घुळ, B. घुल, meaning to be dissolved by stirring in water, as sugar or similar substances, "to melt."

Causal घोणयति, Pr. घोलेइ, H. घोल, P. घोल and घोळ, G. M. O. घोळ, B. घोला "to dissolve substances in water."

3. Skr. √ पत् "fall," i. पतति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. पडइ (Var. viii. 51), H. पड "to fall," and so in all.

Causal पातयति, Pa. पातेति, Pr. पाडेइ, H. पाड "to fell," and so in S. G. M. B., but somewhat rare in all.

4. Skr. √ शद् "decay," i. and vi. शीयते, Pr. सडइ (Var. viii. 51), H. सड, and in all "to rot."

Causal शादयति, Pr. साडेइ, P. and S. साड "to destroy by decomposition." This root is perhaps connected with Sanskrit √ शट् "to be sick," whence ड in Prakrit and the moderns.

5. Skr. √ नम् "bow," i. नमते. It is both *a* and *n* in Sanskrit, but strictly would be active intransitive, as in the moderns. Pa. नमति, Pr. णमइ, H. नम and नेव, P. नेउ (neü), S. नंवं, B. नू, O. नुंइ, नोंइ (ŏ) "to bow oneself down," "to prostrate oneself."

Causal नामयति, Pa. नामेति, Pr. णामेइ, H. नाव, ना, P. निवा, S. नंवा, B. नाम, नुया, O. नुंआइ "to bow or bend," used as an active with the words "body" or "head" as objects, H. सीस नावना "to incline the head." द्वार आइ पद नायेउ माथा॥ "Coming to the door, *bowed his head* to (the Guru's) feet."—T. R. Ay-k. 63.

In very common use is the diminutive H. निऊड, P. S. *id.*, but in S., meaning "to bury," "press down." M. uses the compound form from Skr. अवनमति, Pr. ओणइ (p.p.p. ओणओ = अवनत, Hâla, 9, Mṛ. p. 165), M. ओणव and ओणाव *n* "to stoop." Perhaps S. ओना "to listen," *a*, is to be referred to this, from the idea of bending the head to listen.

The following word is full of difficulties, and I am not able to elucidate it clearly.

Skr. √ कृष् "drag," i. कर्षति and vi. कृषति, Pa. कड्ढति, Pr. करिसइ, so, at least, says Var. viii. 11, but in Mṛ. 253 occurs कड्ढामि = कर्षामि. The Skr. p.p.p is कृष्ट, which would give Pa. and Pr. कड्ढ. Perhaps this is another instance of a verb derived from p.p.p.[1] H. काढ *a*, "to drag

[1] Hemachandra gives six popular equivalents of kṛsh—kaḍḍhaï, sâsaḍḍhaï, anchaï, apachchhaï, ayanchaï, and ûinchaï, as well as karisaï.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 187. With regard to the four last, see the remarks on *khainch* in § 22.

out," "extract," "to take something out" (from a box, etc.), P. कड्ढ and खड्ढ, S. कढ, G. B. काड, M. O. काढ. H. has a corresponding neuter कढ "to be taken out," "to flow forth," "issue," which is perhaps from the p.p.p. Var. viii. 40, gives Pr. वेड्ढ्‌ = Skr. वेष्टति, which affords an analogy for a Pr. कड्ढ्‌ like the Pali. Very much used in the compound with निस्; thus—

Skr. निष्कृष्, i. निष्कर्षति, Pa. निक्कड्ढति "to turn out of doors, expel;" as to Pr. in Mṛ. 354 occurs णिक्कल्ल "begone!" and in the line above णिक्खालेहि "turn him out." For the change of ड्ढ to ल्ल, Var. viii. 41 उव्वेल्लइ = उद्वेष्टति affords an analogy, as the change in both words occurs only in composition. Several of the moderns have pairs of words, thus: H. निकल *n*, "go out," P. निक्कळ, S. निकिर, G. निकळ, O. निकिळ, and H. निकाल *a*, "turn out," P. निक्काळ, S. निकार, निकेर. In the above quoted passages of Mṛ., the scholiast renders निक्खालेहि by निष्काशय, erroneously for निष्कासय, from निस् and कस्, but this is not the etymological equivalent, for √ कस् with निस् has left a separate set of descendants, whose meaning is, however, almost the same as *nikal* and its group. Thus we find H. निकस *n*, "go out," P. निक्कस, G. *id.*, and H. निकास *a*, "to turn out," often used in a milder sense, "to bring out," the substantive निकास is frequently used to mean the issue or completion of a business, also as a place of exit, as पानी का निकास नहीं "there is no exit for the water," P. निक्कास.

§ 22. As exhibiting the phonetic modifications of the root syllable, as well as the treatment of roots in respect to their phase, whether active or neuter, the list which is here inserted will be useful. In the next section will be found some remarks on the deductions to be made from these examples.

Skr. √ तप् "heat," i. तपति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. तवइ. In Sanskrit it is both *a* and *n*, so also in Pali. In the latter the passive तप्पति (Skr. तप्यते) means to be distressed, to suffer, and in this sense Pr. uses तवइ, as in

jaha dittho tavaï khalo, "as the bad man is distressed when seen" (Hâla, 229). Causal तापयति "to cause to burn," Pa. तापेति "to distress," Pr. तावइ. The moderns take it as a neuter. H. तप् *n*, "to be heated, to glow," and so in all but B. ताप. H. ताव "to beat," P. ताउ, ता, G. ताव, M. *id.*, B. तावा.

Skr. √ लिप् "smear," vi. लिम्पति, Pa. *id.*, Pr. लिपइ, लिवइ, H. लीप, लेप, P. लिप्प, लिम्ब, लिम्म, S. लिंब, लिम, G. लिप, M. लेप, B. लेप, O. लिप. Pass. लिप्यते, Pa. लिप्पति, Pr. लिप्पइ, H. लिप "to be smeared with," M. लिप, G. लेप, which is the reverse of the others.

Skr. √ छत् "cut," vi. छन्तति, also i. कर्त्तते, Pa. not given. If the Bhû type be taken, as it generally is, then Pr. should have कट्टइ (on the analogy of वट्टइ = वर्त्तते). I have not met with it. The Bhû type being Âtmanepada would result in a modern neuter, thus we get H. कट "to be cut," P. कट्ट, S. कट, M. *id.*, B. काट "to wither," become flaccid, O. कट. The causal is कर्त्तयति, whence G. pass. intrans. (—1) कटा, but if formed on the usual type would give a Pr. काटेइ, whence H. काट "to cut," S. M. B. O. *id.*

Skr. √ ग्रथ् ग्रन्थ् "tie," 1. ग्रंथति, ix. ग्रथ्नाति, Pa. गंथति, गंथेति, Pr. गंठइ. Hence H. G. गांठ *a*, "to knot," P. गंढ, गड्ढ, S. गंढ, M. गांठ, गांथ, both *a* and *n*, G. गांठ *a*, B. गांत, गांथ, O. गण्ठ. Passive ग्रन्थते used in a reflexive sense, whence H. गंठ "to be knotted," or गठ without anuswara, P. गठ, G. गठा (—1). H. has also forms गंथ *n*, and गांथ *a*, the former from Pr. गंथ, Mr. 157.

The p.p.p. ग्रथित appears in Pr. as गुत्थो, perhaps as if from a Skr. गुथित. Hence we have a pair of verbs, H. गुथ "to be threaded (as beads on a string)," P. गुत्थ "to be tightly plaited (as hair), to be strong, well-knit (as limbs)," M. गुंत and गुंथ "to become tangled, to be difficult or involved (an affair)," G. गुथा, and H. गूथ "to thread," G. गुंथ.

Skr. √ टल् "totter," i. टलति (perhaps connected with √ चल titubare, see Vol. I. p. 210). I have not found it in Pr.; it is *n* in Skr. and thus

H. टल *n*, "to give way, yield, totter," P. G. M. टळ, S. टिल, टर, B. टल "to slip, stagger," O. टळ *id.* Causal टालयति, H. टाल *a*, "to drive away," टेल "to push," P. टाळ, G. M. *id.*, S. टार, B. टाल "to delay, put off, evade," O. टाळ *id.*

Skr. √ तुल्, तूल "raise," "weigh," i. तोलति, *x.* तुलयति and तोलय°, Pa. तुलेति, Pr. तुलइ, H. तोल, तौल *a*, "to weigh," P. तोल, S. तोर, G. *id.*, M. तुळ, both *a* and *n*, B. तोला and तुल, O. तौल. Pass. तुल्यते, would be Pr. तुल्लइ, H. तुल *n*, "to be weighed, to weigh," *i.e.* to be of a certain weight, P. *id.*, S. तुर, B. O. तुल.

Skr. √ स्तम् "prop," v. स्तम्नोति, lx. स्तभ्नाति. Pa. the verb is not given in Childers, it would be थंभति, Pr. थंभइ, H. थांभ, also spelt थाम and थांव *a*, "to prop, support," P. थम्ह or थंम्ह, S. थंभ, G. थांभ, B. थामा, O. थाम. Pass. स्तभ्यते; there is also an Âtmane conjugation स्तभ्यते. From this latter probably H. थंभ, थम, थंव *n*, "to be supported, to be restrained," hence "to stop, cease," P. थंभ, S. थम, G. थंभ, M. थम, थाम, थांव. It also means "to stand," especially in G.

The p.p.p. is स्तब्ध, Pr. थड्ढ, whence Old-H. ठाढा "standing," as गोपी जन वीथिक ढ्वै चितवति सब ठाढी ॥ "All the Gopis on the terrace standing and looking."—S. S. Bâl lîla, 47, 14. On the analogy of this the modern colloquial H. खडा is probably to be derived from a Pr. खड्ढ, from स्कब्ध, √ स्कंभ. P. has खडा *adj.* "standing," whence a verb खड "to stand."

Skr. √ वृत् with नि, निवृत्, i. निवर्त्तते "to come to an end, be finished," Pr. णिअत्तइ, means "to return," *na ṇiattaï jovaṇam aïkkantam* = न निवर्त्तते यौवनं अतिक्रान्तं "Youth when once passed does not return again" (Hâla, 251), but we may postulate a form णिवट्टइ, whence H. निवड *n*, "to be finished, to be done with, used up," P. *id.*, S. निविड or निविर, B. निवड, O. *id.* On the analogy of similar words H. निवाड, निवेड *a*, "to finish," P. *id.*, S. निवेर, B. O. निवाड, it might also come from निपतति = Pr. णिवडइ, but the meaning is less appropriate.

Skr. √ घट् with वि, विघट, i. विघटते "be destroyed," Pa. विघटति, Pr. विघडइ्. With loss of aspiration, H. बिगड *n*, "to become useless, to be spoilt," P. *id.*, S. बिगिड, G. बगड, M. retains the aspirate बिघड, B. O. बिगड. Causal विघटयति, but Pa. विघाटेति, with characteristic long vowel of causal, Pr. I have not found; it would be विघाडइ्, H. बिगाड *a*, "to spoil," P. S. G. *id.*, M. बिघाड.

There are, as might be expected, many verbs, and those often the very commonest, in the modern languages, which cannot be traced back to any Prakrit stem with any degree of certainty. Others, too, though they preserve traces of a Prakrit origin, cannot be connected with any root in use in Sanskrit. These are probably relics of that ancient Aryan folk-speech which has lived on side by side with the sacred language of the Brahmins, without being preserved in it. Sometimes one comes across such a root in the Dhâtupâṭha, but not in literature; and occasionally the cognate Aryan languages of Europe have preserved the word, though it is strangely missing in Sanskrit. An instance in point is the following:

H. लाद् *a*, "to load," P. लद्, more from analogy than anything else, S. लड. In all the rest लाद्.

H. लद् *n*, "to be loaded;" not in the others. Bopp (Comp. Gloss. s. v.) suggests a derivation from √ श्रम्, p.p.p. श्रान्त "tired," or √ क्लम, p.p.p. क्लान्त "tired." This would seem to be confirmed by Russian *klad'* "a load," *klazha* "lading," *na-kladevat'* "to load;" Old-High-German *hlatu*, Anglo-Saxon *hladan* "to load," *hlad* "a load," Mod. High-German *laden*. The wide phonetic changes observable between various members of the great Indo-European family so seldom occur between Sanskrit and its daughters, that I am disposed to think that neither Skr. श्रान्त nor क्लान्त could well have given rise to a Hindi *lâd*. It seems more probable that this is a primitive Aryan root which has, for some reason unknown to us, been left on one side by classical Sanskrit.

Of doubtful, or only partially traceable, origin, are the following:

H. खोद् and खोड *a*, "to dig," P. *id.*, S. खोट, खोड, G. खोद्, M. खोड, खुड, B. खुद्. And H. खुद्, खुड "to be dug." With this pair I propose to connect H. खोल *a*, "to open," P. खोल्ह, खुल्ल, S. G. M. खोल, B. O. खुल, and H. खुल *n*, "to come open," P. खुल्ह, S. खुल, G. M. *id.* Pr. has a verb खुड, and this root is also given in the Dhâtupâṭha as existing in Sanskrit, though not apparently found in actual use. The Sanskrit form is probably √ खण्ड् "to divide," with which another root खन् "to dig," has been confused, unless, indeed, the noun खण्ड, "a portion," is formed from √ खन्, and is the origin of √ खण्ड्. The Prakrit occurs in Mṛ. 346, कूवम्मि खुडिदपाशं कञ्चणकलशं व्व डुब्बन्तं "Like a golden pot with its string *broken*, sinking in a well," where the scholiast renders कूपे खण्डितपाशं, etc. Also in Mṛ. 219, अद्धुद्दइदिनअरे गोवालअदारओ खुडिदो, "While the sun was only half risen the cowherd's son *escaped*," *i.e. broke* out. It is probable that the two senses of digging and opening in the two modern pairs of verbs arose from a primitive idea of breaking or dividing.

H. बूड or बुड *n*, "to dive, be immersed, sink," S. बुड, G. बुड, M. B. O. *id.*, and H. बोड *a*, "to drown, to immerse," S. *id.*, बोड occurs in M. and S., not as active of बुड, but for मोड (मुंड्) "to shave." Apparently, an inverted form of this stem is the more commonly used H. डुब *n*, "to sink," used in all; it has no corresponding active form. The origin of these words is to be found in Pr. वुड्ड (Var. viii. 68), which appears to be the same as *vuḍḍa* in *daravuḍḍavuḍḍanivuḍḍa mahuaro*, "(With) the bee a little dipped, (quite) dipped, undipped" (said of the bee clinging to a kadam branch carried away by a stream).—Hâla, 37.[1] The Sanskrit lexicographers give a √ वुड "to cover," but no instances of its use. The reversed form *ḍubb* is also in use in Prakrit, as in the quotation

[1] Buḍḍaï = masjati.—Pischel, Hem. iv. 101.

from Mṛ. 346, given under खोड above, where the speaker is a Chandâla or man of the lowest caste, who may be held to speak a low form of Apabhrança. It is perhaps another of those Aryan roots which Sanskrit has rejected. The classical language uses instead *majj*, Latin *mergere*.

H. भेट, भेंट *a*, "to meet" (to join any one), भेड *a*, "to close, shut," P. भेड, S. भेट and भीड, G. भेट, M. भिड, both *a* and *n*, B. भेट, भेड, O. भेट; and H. भिड "to stand close to, to be crowded," P. *id.*, S. G. *id.*, M. भेट, B. भिड "to approach near to," O. भिड "to be tight." The general idea is that of closeness or a crowded state. There is also a substantive भीड "a crowd." From the meaning I was led to suppose (Vol. I. p. 176) a derivation from a Sanskrit p.p.p. अभ्यर्ण "near," which, however, has been disputed. The question must for the present be left undecided.

H. मेट "to efface," P. S. *id.*, and more common H. मिट *n*, "to be effaced, to fail, wear out" (as a writing or engraving), and so in all. Of this stem, all that can be said is, that it is probably connected with मृष्ट "rubbed," p.p.p. of √ मृज्, though one would expect a Pr. मिट्ठ or मुट्ठ, and H. मीठ. There are two other stems ending in ट, which present nearly the same difficulty, viz.:

H. पिट "to be beaten," ऐसा करोगे, तो पिटोगे "If you act thus, you will get a beating," P. पिट्ट, M. पिट, both *a* and *n*, B. and O. पिट *a*, and H. पीट *a*, "to beat," not in the others. In Prakrit there is पिट्ट "to beat," पिट्टिअ एदं चेडं णिक्खालेहि "*Having beaten* this slave, turn him out" (Mṛ. 354, again in the mouth of a Chandâla), and पिट्टिदगद्दहेण विअ पुणोवि लोट्टिदव्वं "I must roll about again like a *beaten* jackass" (Mṛ. 107). Here, unless this is a non-Sanskritic old Aryan root, we can only refer to पिष्ट "ground, broken," p.p.p. of √ पिष् "to grind," but this is hardly satisfactory, as this root has a descendant, H. पीस "to grind," and पिस *n*, "to be ground."

H. लेट *n*, "to lie," "to be in a recumbent posture," and लिड *n*, "to

wallow," P. लेट, लिट, S. लेट, G. M. *id.* Probably connected with लोट; but there does not appear to be any Prakrit root to which it can be traced. The nearest Sanskrit root is √ ली "to lie down;" loṭṭai = svapiti.—Pischel, Hem. lv. 146.

There is next to be noted a small group of stems ending in च्, concerning which also there has been some controversy.

Skr. √ क्री "buy," lx. क्रीणाति and क्रीणीते, Pa. किणाति, Pr. किणइ, H. कीन, S. गिन्ह (is not the ह here due to some confusion with Pr. गेण्ह = ग्रह "take"?), B. O. किन. This is a single verb, the complications occur in the following compound with वि, विक्री "sell," ix. विक्रीणाति, Pa. विक्किणाति, Pr. विक्किणइ, S. विकिण *a*, "to sell," O. विक, Gipsy *biknáva*. But in H. विक is *n*, "to be sold, to be exposed for sale," as चावल आज सस्ता बिकता "rice is selling cheap to-day." In M. विक is both *a* and *n*, as विकेल तसें पिकेल "when it is ripe it will sell." So also P. S. विक *n*, "to be sold." For the active H. has बेच sometimes pronounced बेंच "to sell," as आज चावल बेचता "he is selling rice to-day." P. बेच, G. वेच, B. वेच. When we remember that all verbs are prone to take the forms of the Bhû type, it is intelligible that विक should mean both "to sell" *a*, and "to be sold" *n*, for the Parasmai of the Bhû form would be विक्रयति, and the Âtmane विक्रयते, and the final syllable being rejected as in √ नी and √ डी mentioned above, the stem resulting in both cases would be विक. S. and Gipsy have retained the ण of the Pr. विक्किणइ. But whence comes the च in बेच?

H. खेंच, commonly pronounced खेंच "to pull, drag," is a similar word. P. खिच्च and खिंज, G. M. खेंच, B. खेच and खेंच, O. *id.* Also H. खिच *n*, "to be dragged," B. खिच, खिंच "to be dragged or distorted (the face), to grin, make faces, writhe," M. खिच. From the meaning we are led to think of Sanskrit √ कृष "to drag," and although this root has been shown to have given rise to another pair of verbs *karh* and *kârh*, and in composition to *ni-kal* and *ni-kâl*, yet it is not impossible that, used

in a different sense, it may have originated another set of words like *khench* and its congeners.[1]

H. पहुंच "to arrive" *n*, written in various ways as पहंच, पहुच, पहुछ, P. पहुंच, S. पहुच, G. पोहंच, पोंच, M. *id.*, B. पहुंच or पहुंच, O. पहुच. In the dialects are some curious forms, as Marwari पूग and पुग, which also occurs in Chand, and in Nepali. Chand uses also a form पहं, as दिन दोय मंझ नीके पहंत ॥ "In two days one easily arrives (there)." Pr. R. i. 175. In Old-Gujarati also there is a verb पहोत, *e.g.* नळ कहे नारदने ए वखाण भाव न पहोतो "Says Nala to Nârada, this story does not arrive at mind" (*i.e.* is not probable).—*Premânand Bhat*, in K. D. ii. 74. S. पहुचण has p.p.p. पहुतो, which latter looks as if it were from प्र + सृप्, but this will not account for the च. Hoernle (Ind. Ant. i. 358) derives this word from the old Hindi adverb पहुं "near," and कर "make," assuming a change of क into च; but though this change occurs in the ancient languages, there are only very few and doubtful traces of its existence in mediæval or modern times, and I do not think we can safely base any argument upon so rare a process. Hoernle goes so far as to consider H. पुकार "to call," as the causal of पुग, which he says was (or must have been) anciently पुक. There is another possible derivation from Skr. प्राघूर्ण "a guest," which becomes in H. पाहुना, but this fails to explain the final च.

Some light may perhaps be thrown on the subject by some stems in the moderns ending in ज, for as ज arises from द् + य, so च arises from त + य (Vol. I. p. 326). Thus:

H. भेज *a*, "send," P. *id.* Here we have Skr. √ भिद् "cleave," "separate." Causal भेदयति, which would make a passive भेद्यते "he is made to separate," *i.e.* "he is sent away." If we take the active causal as the origin of this word, we must admit an elision of the vowel between *d*

[1] See note to Krsh in § 20. The cognate verb *ainchná* is also in use in the moderns.

and *y*; or, taking the simple passive भिद्यते, we may assume that there was a neuter भिज "to be sent," from which the active भेज "to send," has been formed; *bhij*, however, is not found.

H. बज *n*, "to sound," P. *id.*, S. वग़ and वज़, G. वज, M. वाज, B. *id.* Also H. बाज *a*, "to play (music)," and *n*, "to sound." Probably from Skr. √ वद् "speak," causal वादयति, Pa. वदति and वदेति, the passive of the causal is Skr. वाद्यते, Pa. वज्जति "to be beaten," *i.e.* "to be caused to speak," as *vajjanti bheriyo* "drums are beaten." Hence the modern *bāj*. The short form *baj* is apparently due to analogy.

§ 23. It is the business of the lexicographer, rather than of the grammarian, to work out the derivations of all the verbs in these languages, and even he would probably find the task one of insuperable difficulty in the present elementary state of our knowledge. It is hoped that the examples and illustrations given above will have enabled the reader to gain some insight into the general principles which have governed the modern languages in the process of forming their verbal stems. To conclude this part of the subject, I will now point out what seem to me to be the laws deducible from the examples above given, and from many others which, to avoid prolixity, I have not cited.

Single neuter stems are derived (i) from the Prakrit present tense of Sanskrit neuter verbs, or (ii) from the Prakrit passive past participle, or (iii) Prakrit has assumed one form for all parts of the verb, which form has been handed down to the modern languages almost, if not entirely, unchanged. Types of these three processes respectively are *ho*, *baiṭh*, and *uṭh*.

Single active stems are formed from the Prakrit present of active verbs, and in cases where the verb in Sanskrit is not conjugated on the Bhû type, Prakrit usually, and the moderns always, adopt the Bhû type. Here, also, Prakrit has occasionally taken one form of root and used it throughout, and

the moderns have followed the Prakrit. Types of these classes are *paṛh*, *kar*, and *ghen*.

In the double verbs two leading processes are observable. Where the root is conjugated actively, or is active in meaning in the ancient languages, the modern active is derived from it, and in that case the modern neuter is derived from the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit passive, as in *labhaṇu*, *lahaṇu*, or as *chhoṛ*, *chhuṭ*. Where the ancient root is neuter, the modern neuter is derived from it, and in this case the active is derived from the ancient causal, as in *tuṭ*, *toṛ*, or *mar*, *mâr*.

These rules, if further research should eventually confirm them, do not provide for every modern verbal stem, as there are many whose origin is obscure and doubtful. It is highly probable that as we come to know more about these languages, we shall find out other processes which will throw light upon the method of formation of many now obscure stems.

It should here also be noted that even where the same stem occurs in the same, or nearly the same, *form* in all the languages, it is not used in the same *phase* in all. Marathi and Sindhi have different sets of terminations for neuter and active, so that the fact of the neuter and active stem being the same creates no difficulty, the distinction of meaning being shown by the terminations. Thus in M. गांठ, if treated as a neuter, would be conjugated thus: Present *gâṇṭhato*, Past *gâṇṭhalâ* Future *gâṇṭhel*, etc.; but if as an active, thus: Present *gâṇṭhito*, Past *gâṇṭhilen*, Future *gâṇṭhîl*. In this language, therefore, we often find a verb used either as active or neuter; while in Hindi, which has one set of terminations for all stems, the difference between active and neuter can only be marked by the stem. In several rustic dialects of Hindi, however, and in the mediæval poets, we often find the neuter verb with a long vowel, but confusion is avoided by giving to the active verb the terminations of the causal, thus बढना "to grow big," "increase," makes its active बढाना "to make big," and rustic and

poetical Hindi often uses **बाढना** for the neuter, as **ऐसो देव प्रकट गोवर्द्धन । जाके पूजे बाढै गोधन ॥** "Such a god is manifest in Govardhana, from the worship of whom wealth of cattle *increases*."—S.S. *Govardhanlilá*, ii. 15, *et passim*. So also **बाढत जैछन् मृनालक सूत ॥** "It *grows* like the threads of the lotus."—Padm. This subject will be more fully discussed under the causal.

§ 24. Gujarati, as will have been noticed in the examples given in the last section, often wants the neuter stem with the short vowel, but has in its place a form in which *á* is added to the stem, the included vowel of which is short. This form is not incorrectly treated by some grammarians as the ordinary passive of the language. It should, however, in strictness, be recognized as the passive intransitive (that form marked —1 in the scale, § 10).[1] The rules for its formation are simple, in stems, whether neuter or active, having *á* as the included vowel, it is shortened to *a*, as—

वांच "read,"	**वंचा** "be read."
आंक "mark, test."	**अंका** "be tested."
सांभळ "hear,"	**संभळा** "be heard."

The shortening does not always take place when the included vowel is *í* or *ú*, though from the way in which short and long vowels are used indiscriminately in Gujarati, it is not safe to lay down a hard and fast rule on this point, thus—

शीख "learn,"	**शीखा (शिखा)** "be learnt."
शीव "sew,"	**शीवा (शिवा)** "be sewn."

Where the stem ends in a vowel, **व** is inserted to prevent hiatus, as—

न्हा "wash,"	**न्हवा** "be washed."
खा "eat,"	**खवा** "be eaten."
विही "fear,"	**विहीवा** "be feared."

[1] Vans Taylor, Gujarati Grammar, p. 81, from which most of the following remarks are borrowed, though I diverge from him in some points in which his views seem to be open to correction.

With regard to the meaning and method of using this phase, it appears that its construction resembles that of the neuter, while it implies either simple passiveness, habit, or power. As a simple passive, **रामथी रावण मरायो** "Râvana was killed by Râma," **आ खेतर मां बी ववायुं** "In this field seed has been sown;" as expressing habit, **एवुं कहेवाय छे खरुं** "thus it is correctly said," *i.e.* "this is the correct way of expressing it;" **आ छोकरो मूर्ख जणायछे** "this boy is (usually) thought to be stupid;" as expressing power or fitness, **तेनाथी चलाय नहीं** "he cannot walk," literally "by him it is not walked;" **राजा थी अन्याय कराय नहि** "a king cannot (or must not) do injustice;" **कूवो अभडायो माटे एनुं पाणी पीवाय नहि** "the well has become impure, therefore its water is not drunk." Some of the words which take this form are, to all intents and purposes, simple neuters in meaning, like *abhaḍâyo* in the sentence just quoted, which means "to be ceremonially impure," and points back to a Sanskrit denominative, as though from **अ** "not," and **भद्र** "good," there had been formed a verb **अभद्रायते** "it is not good." So also **वपरावुं** "to be used," "to be in use," as **एक अर्थ ना बे प्रत्यय वपराय छे** "two affixes are in use with one meaning," postulates from **व्यापार**, a denominative **व्यापारायते**, or perhaps the causal of **वि + आ + पृ = व्यापारयति**. This seems to be the real origin of this phase, though some would derive it from a form of the Prakrit passive. At any rate, the two stems just quoted (and there are several others of the same kind) look more like denominatives than anything else, though in others this form inclines more to the passive signification, as **भीमक सुता नुं वदन सुधाकर देखीने शोभाय। चन्द्रमा तो चीण पामी आभमां संताय ॥** "Having seen the moon-like face of the daughter of Bhîmaka in its beauty—The moon wasted away, having hidden itself in the clouds."—Premânand in K.-D. ii. 74. Here **शोभा** is "to be beautiful," and looks like a denominative, but **संताय** has more of a passive or reflexive meaning, "to be hidden," "to hide oneself." Again, **दमयंती नुं उदर देखी**

सुखायुं सरोवर "Seeing the belly of Damayanti, the lake dried up," (*ib.* ii. 75), literally "was dried up." So also घर लाग्युं त्यारे कूवो खोदावे ए अग्नि केम ओलवाय। "When the house has caught (fire), he has a well dug, how can this fire be put out?" —K.-D. i. 184.[1] The verb ओलवा is also written होल°, and is probably the same as O. ओल्हा "to descend, alight," M. ओहळ "to trickle, flow down," which I take to be from अप + सृ = अपसरति, Pr. ओसलइ (Mâgadhi), and with change of स to ह = ओहल. It is used in the sense of removing oneself, thus: अले ले ओसलध "ho there! get out of the way!" (Mr. 210), and causal ओसालिदा मए गअडा "I have got the cart out of the way," (*ib.* 211) = Skr. अपसारिता. This *phase* is conjugated throughout all the tenses, thus खोवावुं "to be lost." Present खोवाए "he is lost," Future खोवाशे "he will be lost," Preterite खोवाओ, खोवाणो, or खोवाएलो छे "he has been lost," and in active verbs it is used in the Bhava-prayoga, as a sort of potential, as तेनाथी छोडाय "he can loose," तेनाथी छोडायो "he could loose," तेनाथी छोडाशे "he will be able to loose."

As to the other languages, a similar form is found in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi, used as a simple passive, as पकड "seize," पकडा "be seized," as हम् पकडाइत बा "I am being seized." In this dialect, however, there are signs, as will be shown further on, of a passive similar to that in use in classical Hindi. In the old Maithil dialect of Bidyâpati, which is transitional between eastern Hindi and Bengali, this form is found; thus, सिंकता जल जैछे थलहि गुकायल "As water poured out on the ground *is dried up.*"—Pad. 984. धरणी लोटायल गोकुलचांद। "(He who is) the moon of Gokul *rolled himself* on the earth."—P.K.S. 77. जनु इंदीवर पवने पेलिल अलि भरे उलटाय। "As a lotus pressed down by the wind *is tilted* by the weight of bees" (var. lect. भुरि = by a swarm).—Pad. 1352.

[1] This is equivalent in meaning to our English saying, "When the steed is stolen, shut the stable door."

There seems to be some difficulty in deducing this form from a Prakrit passive. One of the methods in which the passive in Prakrit is formed is by resolving the *y* of Sanskrit into *ia* or *ia*, Skr. खायते = Pr. खाईअदि; and it is supposed that this ई has become अय, and subsequently आ, but no instances of intermediate forms are found; it would seem, therefore, more correct to suppose that this form originates from the causal of Sanskrit in those instances where the causal characteristics are used to form denominatives, and has from them been extended to other verbs. Neither explanation, however, is quite satisfactory, and the question is one which must be left for further research.

§ 25. The regular Passive (phase —2) is found only in Sindhi, Panjabi, and in some rustic dialects of Hindi. It arises from the Prakrit passive in *ijja* (Var. viii. 58, 59). Thus Skr. *çrûyate* = *suṇijjaï*, *gamyate* = *gamijjaï*, *hasyate* = *hasijjaï*. In Sindhi the passive is formed by adding ड्ज or ज to the neuter or active stem.[1] Thus—

पूरणु "to bury," Passive पूर्जणु "to be buried."
घटणु "to lessen," ,, घटिजणु "to be lessened."

A passive is also made from causal stems, as—

विञाइणु "to lose," Passive विञाइजणु "to be lost."

Here, also, we find denominatives which have no corresponding active form, and have scarcely a passive sense, as उखण्डिजणु "to long for," where the causal termination used in Sanskrit for denominatives appears to have been confused with the *ijja* of the passive. Thus Skr. उत्कण्ठ "longing," makes a verb उत्कण्ठयति "to long for," whence the Sindhi *ukhandijaṇu*. So also अंगुडिजणु "to be entangled," which seems to be from Skr. अङ्गुल, or अङ्गुरि "a finger," whence we may suppose a verb

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 258.

अङुरयति "to be intertwined (like the fingers of clasped hands);" डमिर्जणु "to be angry," from डमरु "anger," Skr. डमर "uproar," of which the denominative would be डमरयति.

In cases where the vowel of the active stem is long in the imperative, but shortened in the infinitive, the passive retains the long vowel. Thus

पीउ "drink thou,"	पिअणु "to drink,"	पीजणु "to be drunk."
पूउ "thread thou,"	पुअणु "to thread,"	पूइजणु "to be threaded."
धोउ "wash thou,"	धुअणु "to wash,"	धोइजणु "to be washed."

A similarly formed passive is used in the Marwâṛi dialect of Hindi, spoken west of the Aravalli hills towards Jodhpur, and thus not very far from Sindh. Instances are—

करणो "to do,"	करीजणो "to be done."
खावणो "to eat,"	खवीजणो "to be eaten."
लेणो "to take,"	लिरीजणो "to be taken."
देणो "to give,"	दिरीजणो "to be given."
आवणो "to come,"	अवीजणो "to be come."

Thus they say म्हैं सुं अवीजै नहीं = H. मुझ से आया नहीं जाता "by me it is not come," *i.e.* "I am not coming." थां सुं खवीजैलो नहीं = H. तुम से नहीं खाया जायगा "by you it will not be eaten," *i.e.* "you will not (be able to) eat it." This passive construction is frequent in the Indian languages, but usually with the negative expressing that the speaker is unable or unwilling to do a thing.[1] The insertion of र instead of व in ले and दे is peculiar and unaccountable.

Panjabi also has a synthetical passive, though rarely used. It is formed by adding ई to the root, and is probably derived from that form of the Prakrit passive which ends in *ia*, as

[1] I have to thank Mr. Kellogg, of Allahabad, author of the best, if not of the only really good Hindi Grammar, for communicating this form to me in a letter. I was previously unaware of it.

mentioned above. This form of the passive is only used in a few tenses, thus मारना "to beat," Passive present मैं मारीदा "I am beaten," Future मैं मारीआंगा "I shall be beaten," Potential (old present) मैं मारीआं "I may be beaten."

With these exceptions, there is no synthetic form for the passive in the modern languages. This phase is usually formed by an analytical process. It is not much used, the construction of sentences being more frequently reversed, so as to make the verb active. The large number of neuter verbs also renders a passive for the most part unnecessary. It does exist, however, and is formed by adding the verb जा "to go," to the past participle of the passive, जा doing all the conjugational work, and the participle merely varying for number and gender.

Thus from मार "beat," H. Sing. मारा जाना "to be beaten" *m.*, मारी जाना *f.*, Plur. मारे जाना *m.*, मारीं जाना *f.*, P. मारिआ जाना *m.*, मारी *f.*, Plur. मारे *m.*, मारीआं *f.* Gujarati also uses this method side by side with the passive intransitive, as मार्यो जवुं "to be beaten," with the participle varied for gender and number as in the others. M. मारिला जाणें, B. मारा जाइते, O. मारा जिवा. In these two last the participle does not vary for gender or number.

Occasionally in G. and M. a passive is formed by adding the substantive verb to the past participle, thus M. गाई बांधली होती "the cow was tied," and G. ग्रंथ कर्यो छे "the book is made;" such a construction would in the other languages be incorrect, or, if used at all, would have a different meaning altogether.

The use of जाना "to go," to form a passive, seems somewhat unnatural; होना "to be," would occur as the most fitting verb for this purpose. I am tempted to hazard a conjecture that the use of जाना in this way has arisen from the Prakrit passive form in *ijja*. This, as we have seen above, has given a regular

passive to Sindhi and Marwari, and it seems possible that the masses who had quite forgotten, or had never known, the meaning of the added *j*, may unconsciously have glided into the practice of confounding it with the ज of the common word जा, which would lead them to consider the verbal stem preceding it as a passive participle. Thus a form मारिजे "he is beaten," would easily pass into मारा जाए, as in modern Hindi. The process must, of course, have been unconscious, as all such processes are, but the supposition does not involve a more violent twisting of words and meanings than many others which are better supported by actual facts.

The non-Aryan party have something to say on this head.[1] They point out that the Dravidian languages, like our seven, largely avoid the use of the passive by having recourse to neuter verbs, and that with them, as with us, the neuter is often only another form of the same root as the active. Indeed, the similarity in this respect is very striking, the process is, to a great extent, the same in both groups, though the means employed are different. The passive does not, strictly speaking, occur in the Dravidian languages; a clumsy effort is sometimes made to produce one, by adding the verb *paḍu* "to happen" (Sanskrit पत्, modern Aryan पड) to an infinitive or noun of quality. This process, however, is as strained and foreign to elegant speech as the construction with *já* is in the Aryan group. It appears, also, that the verb *poyu* "to go," is also used in Tamil to form a passive, as also a verb meaning "to eat," which latter is parallel to our North-Indian expression मार खाना "to eat a beating" = "to be beaten." In this, as in so many other instances of alleged non-Aryan influence, the known facts do not justify us in saying more than that there is a resemblance between the two groups of languages, but that it is not clear which borrowed the process, or whether it was over

[1] Caldwell, pp. 353, 364 (first edition).

borrowed at all. There is no reason why it should not have grown up simultaneously and naturally in both families.

§ 26. We now come to the Causal, an important and much used phase of the verb. Sanskrit forms the causal by adding the syllable *aya* to the root, which often also takes guṇa or vṛiddhi, √कृ "do," causal कारयति. There is, however, in Sanskrit a small class of verbs which form the causal by inserting ए् between the root and the characteristic *aya*. These are principally roots ending in a vowel; but in Pali and the Prakrits the form of the causal in ए् has been extended to a very large number of stems, in fact to nearly every verb in those languages. In Pali, however, its use is optional, thus √पच् "cook," causal *pâcheti, pâchayati, pâchâpeti, pâchâpayati.*[1] In Prakrit, also, there are the two processes, by the first of which the *aya* of Sanskrit becomes *e*, thus कारयति = Pr. कारेइ्, हासयति = हासेइ् (Var. vii. 26), and by the second the inserted ए् is softened to व्, thus giving करावेइ् or कारावेइ् (*ib.* 27). It is from this form, and not from *aya*, as I erroneously supposed in Vol. I. p. 20, that the modern causal arises. Even in Prakrit the *e* in *kârâveï* is frequently omitted, as it is also in *kâreï*, and we find such forms as *kâraï, târaï*, side by side with *kârâvaï* (Weber, Hala, p. 60), so that there remains only *âv* for the modern causal.

Among the modern languages Marathi stands alone in respect of its causal, and, as in so many other points, exhibits a hesitation and confusion which confirm the impression of its being a backward language which has not so thoroughly emancipated itself from the Prakrit stage as the others. Whereas these latter have passed through the period in which rival forms conflicted for the mastery, and have definitely settled upon one type to be used universally, the former pre-

[1] Kaccâyana, Senart, Journal Asiatique, vol. xvii. p. 436.

sents us with several alternative suffixes, none of which appears to have obtained undisputed prominence. The authorities for Marathi consist of the classical writers, the one dictionary-maker, Molesworth, and a host of grammarians, all of whom differ among themselves, so that one is driven to ask, "who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

The competing forms are: *ava, iva, ive, avi, âva, âvi*, and one sees at a glance that they are all derived from one source, the causal with प्, modified in Prakrit to व्. The difficulty lies in the vowels. Where one authority gives a causal in *ava* to a particular verb, another makes the causal of that same verb by adding *iva*, and so on. Stevenson (Marathi Grammar, p. 87) teaches that *ava* is the ordinary form, as *basaṇeṉ* "to sit," *basavaṇeṉ* "to seat." This type, however, he adds, is peculiar to the Konkan or lowlands along the coast; in the Dakhin or centre table land above the passes the form *iva* is more used, as *karaṇeṉ* "to do," *karivaṇeṉ* "to cause to do." A third form *avi* is said to be "of a middle class," and not characteristic of either dialect, as *karaviṇeṉ*. It is to be noted here that the causal suffix, strictly speaking, ends with the *v*, and the vowels that follow this letter may fairly be regarded as mere junction vowels, used to add the terminations to the stem. In those of the cognate languages which use *â* as the causal suffix, the junction vowel used is either *i*, as B. *karâ-i-te*, O. *karâ-i-bâ*, S. *karâ-i-ṇu*, or *u*, as Old-H. *karâ-u-nâ*, P. *karâ-u-ṇâ*, or hardened to *va*, as G. *karâ-va-vuṇ*. Dismissing, then, the final vowel as unconnected with the suffix, we get for Marathi four types, *av, âv, iv, ív*. Of these four *âv* approaches most closely to the Prakrit, and may therefore be regarded as the original type from which, by a shortening of the vowel, comes *av*, which, all things considered, is perhaps the most common and regular; a further weakening of the vowel produces *iv*; and the fourth form, *ív*, probably owes its long vowel to the Marathi habit of lengthening vowels at the end of a word, or

in a syllable, where the stress or accent falls. Thus all four forms may be used, as

करणें "to do," करवणें, करावणें, करिवणें, करीवणें; also करविणें, and करीविणें "to cause to do."[1]

Causals may be formed from every verb in the language, whether neuter, active, active or passive intransitive. The meaning of the causal differs, of course, according to that of the simple verb.

Those formed from simple neuters or active intransitives are generally merely actives in sense, as

बस "sit,"	बसव "seat."
मिळ "meet,"	मिळव (junction vowel इ) "mix."
निज "sleep,"	निजव "put to sleep," "soothe."

Those from actives are causal in meaning, as

मार "strike,"	मारव "cause to strike."
शिक "teach,"	शिकव "cause to teach."

Those from passive intransitives are passive causals, as

फिर "turn" (*i.e.* be turned),	फिरव "cause to be turned."
कट "be cut,"	कटव, कटाव "cause to be cut."

Simple roots ending in vowels insert a *v* between the stem and the suffix to avoid hiatus, as

खा "eat,"	खाववं (junction vowel इ) "cause to eat."

So also with roots ending in ह, as

लिह "write,"	लिहवव "cause to write."

The various forms of the causal suffix in Marathi may be regarded as types of a stage of transition which the other lan-

[1] Godbole's Marathi Grammar, p. 102, § 279.

guages have passed by. The following are examples of the causal in these latter:

लिख "write," H.P.B.O.S. लिखा "cause to write," (H.Pres. *likhâtâ*, Pret. *likhâyâ*, Aor. *likhâe*, or *likhây*, or *likhâve*.)

पढ "read,"	*id.*	पढा "cause to read."
सुन "hear,"	*id.*	सुना "cause to hear."

In Hindi, as in the other languages, the causal of a neuter verb is, in effect, nothing more than an active, as

बन्ना "be made,"	बनाना "make."
बोलना "speak,"	बुलाना "call" (*i.e.* "cause to speak.")
चलना "move,"	चलाना "drive."
जागना "be awake,"	जगाना "awaken."
उठना "rise,"	उठाना "raise."
पकना "be cooked,"	पकाना "cook."

So also in the case of double verbs given in §§ 20, 21, the active form, with long vowel in the stem syllable, may be regarded as a causal. In fact, it might be said, looking at the matter with reference to meaning, that the modern languages have two ways of forming the causal, one in which the short vowel of the stem is lengthened, the other in which *â* or some other suffix is added. Looking at it in another way with reference to form, the division which I have adopted commends itself, the forms with a long vowel in the stem being regarded as actives, those with the added syllable as causals. In point of derivation, however, both forms are causals. There is a wonderful, though unconscious, economy in our languages; where Prakrit has more types than one for the same phase of a verb, the modern languages retain them all, but give to each a different meaning. For instance, Prakrit has three types for the passive, one in which the final consonant of the stem is doubled by absorption of the य् of Skr. as *gamyate* = *gammaï*,

a second in *ia*, as *gamyate* = *gamiadi*, and a third in *ijja*, as *gamyate* = *gamijjadi*. The first of these types, having lost whatever might remind the speaker of its passive character, has been adopted in the modern languages as the form of the simple neuter verb, the second survives in the Panjabi passive, as *mârîdâ* = *mârîadi*, the third in the Sindhi and Marwari passive given in § 25. So, also, it seems to me that the two types of the Prakrit causal have been separately utilized; that which corresponds to the Sanskrit type in *aya* with long or guṇa vowel in the stem, has become in the moderns an active verb, as *hârayati* = *hâṛeï* = *hâr*; *troṭayati* = *toṛeï* = *toṛ*; while that which takes the प् causal is preserved as the ordinary causal of the moderns, as *kârayati (karâpayati)* = *karâvei* = *karâ*.

Often, however, both forms exist together, and there is little or no apparent distinction between them; thus from फटना are made both फाटना and फटाना, from हरना are made हारना and हराना, and so in many other instances.

The causal, properly so called, namely, that with the suffix *â*, *âv*, etc., has always a short vowel in the stem syllable, except in a few instances where the stem vowel is vṛiddhi, in which case it is sometimes retained. Thus in the double verbs the causal suffix may be regarded as added to the neuter form, as in

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.	CAUSAL.
तप	ताव	तपा
घुल	घोल	घुला

In such cases, however, we more commonly find the double or passive causal.

Single verbs with a long or guṇa stem-vowel have causals with the corresponding short or simple vowel, as in the examples बोलना and बुलाना, जागना and जगाना given above.

Verbs whose simple stems end in a vowel insert a semivowel before the termination of the causal, and change the vowel of the stem, if *â*, *î*, or *e*, into *i*, if *û* or *o*, into *u*. The semivowel

used is sometimes व or र, but more commonly ल. Thus, लेना "to take," लिवाना "to cause to take," but—

H. देना	"give,"	दिलाना "cause to give."
जीना	"live,"	जिलाना "cause to live."
पीना	"drink,"	पिलाना "give to drink."
खाना	"eat,"	खिलाना "feed."
धोना	"wash,"	धुलाना "cause to wash."
सोना	"sleep,"	सुलाना "put to sleep."
रोना	"weep,"	रुलाना "make to weep."

In a few cases of stems ending in ह, or in aspirates, the ल is optionally inserted, as

H. कहना "say,"	कहाना	and	कहलाना "cause to say," "be called."
देखना "see,"	दिखाना	,,	दिखलाना "show."
सीखना "learn,"	सिखाना	,,	सिखलाना "teach."
बैठना "sit,"	बिठाना (or बै°)	,,	बिठलाना (बै°) "seat."

A similar method exists in Sindhi, but with र instead of ल, as is customary with that language, as[1]

डिअणु "give,"	डिआरणु "cause to give."
चुअणु "leak,"	चुआरणु "cause to leak."
विहणु "sit,"	विहारणु "seat."
सिखणु "learn,"	सिखारणु "teach."
उथणु "rise,"	उथारणु "raise."
सुम्हणु "sleep,"	सुम्हारणु "put to sleep."

Here the र is inserted after the causal suffix, and this was probably the method originally in force in Hindi, for we find in the mediæval poets such words as *dikhârnâ* "to show," and even in modern colloquial usage *baiṭhâlnâ* is quite as common

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 256.

as *bithlânâ*. Gujarati forms its causal in an analogous way, but uses ડ instead of ર, as

ધાવવું "suck,"	ધવાડવુ "give suck."
શીવવું "sew,"	શીવાડવું "cause to sew."
વાગવું "sound,"	વગાડવું "strike" (a bell, etc.)

After words ending in a vowel, the suffix takes વ to prevent hiatus, and so also after હ, as

થા (થવું) "be,"	થવાડવું "cause to be."
ખાવું "eat,"	ખવાડવું "feed."
દેવું "give,"	દેવાડવું "cause to give."
સેહવું "endure,"	સેહવાડવું "cause to endure."
કોહવું "rot,"	કોહવાડવું "cause to rot."

This language, like Hindi, also reverses the position of the long vowel of the causal suffix, and uses such forms as *dhavarâv*, *khavarâv*, with change of ડ to ર.

There is nothing remarkable about the Panjabi causal, which is identical with Old Hindi, merely retaining the junction vowel *u*, as *khilâ-u-nâ*, *dikhâ-u-nâ*. In both these languages the old form *âu* has, in a few instances, changed to *o* instead of *â*, as

ਭਿਗੋਨਾ "to wet," from ਭੀਗਨਾ "to be wet."

ਡੁਬੋਨਾ "to drown," „ ਡੁਬਨਾ "to be drowned."

Bengali and Oṛiya have only the causal form in *â* with junction vowel *i*, as B. *karâ-i-te*, O. *karâ-i-bâ*, and use this form in preference to that with the long stem vowel, even in those causals which are, in meaning, simple actives.

There are thus, independently of the stem with the long or guṇa vowel, which I prefer to treat as an active, two separate systems of forming the causal in the seven languages: one starting from the Prakrit causal in *âve*, and exhibiting the forms *âva*, *ava*, *iva*, *îva*, *âv*, *âu*, *o*, *â*; the other starting, I know

not whence, but probably from a method in use in early Aryan speech, which has only been preserved by the classical language in a few instances, and exhibiting the forms *âr*, *âḍ*, *âl*, *râ*, *lâ*. Whether these two forms are connected by an interchange between the two semivowels *l* and *v*, is a problem which must remain for futuro research. Such a connexion is not impossible, and is oven, in my opinion, highly probable.

§ 27. The Passivo Causal may be also called the double causal. The use of either term depends upon the point of view of the speaker, for whether I say, "I cause Râm to be struck by Shyâm," or, "I cause Shyâm to strike Râm," the idea is the same. As regards form, the term doublo causal is more appropriate in somo languages. In H. and P. this phrase is constructed by adding to the stem H. वा, P. वाउ, in which we should, I think, recognize the syllable *âv* of the single causal shortened, and another *âv* added to it, thus from *sun* "hear," comes causal *sunâ*, "cause to hear," "tell," double causal *sunvâ*,[1] "cause to cause to hear," "cause to tell;" here, as *sunâ* is from the fuller form *sunâv*, so *sunvâ* is from sunâv+âv=sunav+â=*sunvâ*. This double or passivo causal is in use mostly with neuter and activo intransitive stems, whose single causal is naturally an active, as बनना "be made," बनाना "make," बनवाना "cause to be made." Thus they say, गढ बनता "The fort is being built;" थवई गढ बनाता "Tho architect is building the fort;" and राजा थवई के द्वारा गढ बनवाता "The king is causing the fort to be built by tho architect." In this last sentence, and in all similar phrases, tho nature of tho construction is such that we can only translate it by the passive causal, we could not render "The king causes the architect to build," etc., by बनवाना in any other way than by putting "architect"

[1] Generally, the semivowel in this form is pronounced softly, almost like the English *w*, so that *sunwânâ* would more nearly represent the sound than *sunvânâ*. The *v*, however, in all Indian languages is a softer sound than our *v*.

in the ablative with द्वारा or से. When we are told, therefore, that this phase means "to cause to do" (the action of a neuter verb), the assertion, though correctly expressing the form, is incorrect as to the meaning; the dictionary-makers here halt between two opinions. Thus

उठ "rise,"	उठा "raise" (*i.e.* "cause to rise"),	उठवा "cause to be raised" (*i.e.* "cause A to cause B to rise").
कट "be cut,"	काट "cut,"	कटवा "cause to cut."
खुल "be open,"	खोल "open,"	खुलवा "cause to open."

In double verbs, like those just quoted, however, the single causal in *á* may be used, as कटा "cause to cut." As a general rule, the exact meaning of stems in this phase must be gathered from the sentence in which they are used.

Sindhi makes its double causal by inserting *rá* (Trumpp, 257), as

विर्च "be weary,"	विर्चा "make weary, tire,"	विर्चारा "cause to make weary."
घा "wound,"	घारा "cause to wound,"	घारारा "cause to cause to wound, or cause (another) to be wounded."

Stack instances also passive causals formed on the same model as ordinary passives, thus

सड "be on fire," साड "burn," साडा "cause to burn," साडारिज "be caused to be burnt."

One example given by him shows a full range of phases, as धापणु "to be sucked, to issue" (as milk from the breast), neuter; धाइणु "to suck the breast," active; धाइजणु "to be sucked," pass.; धापिजणु "to give suck," neut. pass.; धाराइणु "to suckle," caus.; धाराइजणु "to be suckled," pass. caus.;

धारारादणु "to cause (another) to suckle," double caus.; धारारादजणु "to cause to be suckled by another," double pass. caus. The whole of these forms, however, are rarely found in one verbal stem. The double causal is common enough, thus from the causals mentioned in the last section are derived double causals—

सुम्हारणु "to put to sleep," सुम्हाराद्णु "to cause to put to sleep."
उथारणु "to raise," उथाराद्णु "to cause to raise" (H. उठवाना).

§ 28. Although the suffixed syllables shown in § 26 generally and regularly indicate the causal phase, yet there are numerous verbs having this suffix which are neuter, active intransitive, or passive intransitive. As mentioned in § 11, these stems are probably built on the model of Sanskrit denominatives, and owe their long vowel to the *aya* or *âya* of that form. Hence they come to resemble in form modern causals.

In Sindhi these stems have a development peculiar to that language, and have a corresponding active phase like the double stems mentioned in § 19. Trumpp gives (p. 252, *et seqq.*) the following examples:

NEUTER.	ACTIVE.
उझामणु "to be extinguished,"	उझाद्णु "to extinguish."
उड़ामणु "to fly,"	उड़ाद्णु "to make fly, to spend."
जा़पणु / ज़मणु "to be born,"	जणणु "to bring forth."
द्रापणु "to be satiated,"	द्राद्णु "to satiate."
खामणु "to be on fire,"	खाद्णु "to burn."
मापणु / मामणु "to be contained,"	माद्णु "to contain."
विहामणु "to be passed, to pass" (as time),	विहाद्णु "to pass the time."
हपामणु "to grow less,"	हपाद्णु "to lessen."

In this group the neuter stems have the type *ápa* and *áma*, which, if we regard them as derived from the Prakrit type *ábe* of the causal, will appear as respectively a hardening and a softening of the *b* of Prakrit. In some cases the neuter form is clearly derived from the older causal, as in माइणु "to contain," rather, "to go into," Skr. √मा "to measure;" but मापणु, Skr. caus. मापयति "to cause to measure," where, by a natural inversion of the sense, the causal has become neuter. In the case of जापणु the process by which the meaning has been arrived at from Sanskrit √जन् is less clear. The other stems are also obscure, and I possess no data on which to establish any satisfactory explanation.

Sindhi stands alone in respect of this group; Hindi and Panjabi have a number of neuter stems with causal terminations, which stand on a different footing, and recall by their meaning the Sanskrit denominatives, having no corresponding active forms, as—

H. खिसाना "to be abashed," "to shrink away."
खियाना "to be worn out."
खुजलाना "to itch."
घबराना "to be agitated," "to be in fear" P. घबराउणा.
घमाना "to bask in the sun."
चंचलाना "to tremble," "to be unsteady." P. *id.*
P. घरलाउणा "to grow soft" (a scar).
कुम्हलाना "to wither," to grow flaccid." P. *id.*

In words of this class, also, a syllable इय is often inserted, as

खिसियाना "to grin." P. खिसिआउणा *id.*

This type is evidently closely connected with the passive of Gujarati and other dialects given in § 24, which I have been led by the considerations here mentioned to regard as a passive

intransitive. It seems also to be connected with the passive intransitive in B. in such passages as राजपुत्र हवे रूप लक्षणे जानाय ॥ "He must be a king's son, by his appearance and marks (of birth) *it is known*."—Bhârat, B.-S. 378, where *jânây* = *jânâë*, "it appears," "it is evident," a construction exactly parallel to the Gujarati phrases quoted in § 24.

Marathi has similarly neuters with a causal type, which recall the method of formation of the Sanskrit denominative, inasmuch as they are referred by the grammarians to a nominal origin, thus—

कडका "a cracking or crashing sound;" कडकाविणें "to crack, crash;" कडकावणें "to roar at," "to make a crashing noise."

कमता (from Persian کم) "deficient," कमतावणें "to grow less."

करकर "a grating sound," करकराविणें "to grind the teeth."

कांचा (Skr.) "doubt," काकसाविणें "to be doubtful."

—but this may also be formed from the two words कां "why?" कसा "how?" and would thus mean "to why-and-how," "to hum and ha;" just as they use in Urdu the phrase لَیت و لَعل کرنا "to prevaricate," literally to make "would that!" and "perhaps."

A distinction may apparently be drawn in many cases between forms in *âva* and those in *âvi*, the former being rather denominatives, and as such neuter, while the latter are causals. Thus from थोरका "little," "few," थोरकावणें "to grow less," and थोरकाविणें "to make less," but the authorities accessible to me are not agreed about this point, and I therefore hesitate to make any definite assertion on the subject. Molesworth gives, for instance, डरकावणें *n*, "to bellow," "bluster," and डरकाविणें "to frighten by bellowing;" also डरावणी "the act of roaring at," from डराविणें or डरविणें "to intimidate," where

the *i* of the infinitive seems to be represented by *a* in the noun.

On the other hand, the close connexion of these neuters with the passive type is seen in S., where the passive characteristic इज is used, according to Stack, convertibly with the neuter, having the short vowel. Thus द्राइणु or द्राइजणु "to be satiated;" while there are also verbs of two forms, one with the neuter type, the other with the causal type, but both having a neuter sense, as ढिरणु and ढिराइणु "to grow loose or slack."

Further examples are—

झपणु and झपिजणु "to grow less;" also झपामणु "to decrease."

झकाइजणु and झकिजणु "to fade," "tarnish."

माइणु and माइजणु "to be contained in."

It is not certain how far later and better scholars like Trumpp would confirm the accuracy of Stack's definition. He seems to be somewhat inaccurate and careless in drawing the distinction between the various phases of the verb.

§ 29. Secondary verbs are not so numerous as secondary nouns, and those that exist have, for the most part, a familiar or trivial meaning. They are formed by the addition of a syllable to the verbal stem, or to a noun. This latter feature is especially common in H. verbs formed from feminine nouns in *aka* (Vol. II. p. 31), thus Behari Lâl.

छुटी न शिशुता की झलक झलक्यौ जोबन अंग ॥

"The splendour of childhood has not ceased, (yet) youth shines in the limbs."—Sats. 17.

Here the substantive झलक "glitter," "splendour" (probably formed from √ ज्वल), gives rise to a verb झलकना "to shine." Similarly all the nouns quoted in the passage referred to in Vol. II. have verbs formed from them as there stated. It is un-

necessary to give a list of them, and it may be here observed that in languages which, like English, have advanced far into the analytical stage, great freedom of formation exists, so that many words may be used either as nouns or verbs. Many nouns have, in common usage, verbal terminations added to them, and thus become verbs. We see constantly in modern English, French, and German, new verbs thus formed, as, for instance, by adding *-ize, -iser, or -isiren*, as *colonize, coloniser, colonisiren*, several of which have not found their way into dictionaries. The same is the case with our Indian languages, and it is impossible here to follow or set forth all these constantly arising innovations. Those which have received the sanction of literature will be found in the dictionaries, and many more will probably be admitted to the dictionaries of the future, if the authors of those works are wise enough to keep pace with the actual growth of language, and do not permit an overstrained purism to prohibit them from truly recording the language as it exists in their day.

I will content myself with giving a few examples of this class of verbs from Marathi, which, as I have before noticed, is very rich in forms of this kind. This language has secondary stems formed by the addition of **वट**, **ऋट**, **आट**, **ऋड**, **ऋळ**, **वळ**, **ऋर**, a series the items of which seem to indicate a progressive softening from some earlier type. Thus—

घासणें "to rub" (Skr. √ **घृष्**), secondary stems **घसटणें** "rub," **घसरणें** "slip," **घसवटणें** (a potential form) "graze the skin," "be practised in" (an art or science), **घसाडणें** "scour" (pots), **घासटणें** *a*, "rub off, deface," *n*, "be rubbed," "be despoiled of." Analogous is H. **घसीटना** "drag."

डुबणें "to sink" (rarely used), **डुंबणें**, **डुंभ°**, **डुम°**, "to splash about in the water," **डुबकणें** *id.*, **डुबकविणें** "to plunge into water," (causal) **डुबकळणें** "to dip."

थांग "place," थांगारणें "to arrange."

थाप "pat," थापटणें "to pat," थापलणें "to back water," "to steady a vessel by short strokes of the oars while working the sails."

दंड "stick," दंडणें "to press, punish," दंडपणें "to compress," दंडावणें "to stiffen," compare B. डांडाइते "to stand up."

Materials are, unfortunately, deficient, so that in the present state of research, no thorough analysis can be made. Nor can any definite separation into classes be effected. As so many verbs of this kind, however, are derived from nouns, the course to be pursued would probably be to affiliate each group of verbs to that formation of nouns with which it corresponds, verbs which add क to the primary stem being regarded as formed from nouns in क, and so on. In this method no further explanation is required for secondary verbs, as the origin of the affirmative syllable has been explained under the noun. Thus the secondary verbs, whose added syllable is *aṭ*, or *vaṭ*, are explained under nouns so ending in Vol. II. p. 65, those having *al*, *aḷ*, or cognate forms, are referable to the nouns in Vol. II. p. 90, and so on.

§ 30. Reduplicated and imitative verbal stems are very common. The former usually express sounds, or motions, while both frequently partake of the denominative character and type.

In Hindi the second syllable usually contains the same consonants and vowels as the first, and the question arises whether the first or the second of the two syllables is the original, in other words, whether reduplication is effected by prefixing or affixing a syllable. The following examples show that the reduplicated syllable, whichever it be, contains, as a rule, the same vowel as the original.

(*a*) with *a*.

खटखटाना "to knock, pat, rap," from खटखट *n. f.* onomatopœa.

खडखडाना "to clatter, rattle, jar," from खडक *n. f.* onomatopœa.

खद्खद्दाना "to bubble, simmer," ,,

खलखलाना "to rumble" (of bowels, Gk. *κορκορυγέω*, *βορβορύζω*), onamatop.

गहगहाना "to quiver," probably connected with ग्रह *q.d.* "to be seized and shaken."

छलछलाना "to mutter, murmur."

झडझडाना "to flap, flop," from झडना "to fall off."

झणझणाना "to tinkle, jingle, clank," Skr. झणझण.

झलझलाना "to glitter, glare, throb," Skr. ज्वल्?

फडफडाना "to flutter, twitch," Skr. स्फर्?

थरथराना "to tremble, quiver," probably onomatop.

(β) with *i*.

खिलखिलाना "to giggle, chuckle, titter," onomatop.

गिडगिडाना "to quiver, waver" (the voice in supplication), dimly traceable to Skr. गै, गीति?

घिणघिणाना "to turn sick at," from घिण "disgust," Skr. घृणा; there are also verbs घिणियाना, घिणौना and घिणाना.

चिचियाना "to squeak," onomatop.

चिनचिनाना *id.* ,,

झिडझिडाना "to rave, rage, scold."

टिंटिंगाना "to twang," onomatop.

(γ) with *u*.

खुपखुपाना "to envy, be spiteful," perhaps from Skr. क्षुभ् through H. खुभना and खुपना "to pierce."

गुंगुनाना "to mutter."

चुपचुपाना "to be silent, to move about quietly," from चुप "silent."

चुलचुलाना "to itch, tickle."

तुलतुलाना "to be soft or squashy."

फुसफुसाना "to whisper," onomatop.
भुरभुराना "to powder, sprinkle."

The above exhibit the ordinary type of this class, in which both syllables are the same. In some cases, where the root-syllable ends in a nasal, the first syllable of the reduplicated word softens the nasal to anuswâra, as in गुंगनाना, चंचनाना "to throb," and even with ल, as चंचलाना "to be unsteady," where the reduplication takes place already in Sanskrit चंचल. From the analogy of this last word we may conclude that the latter of the two syllables is the original one, and that reduplication has been effected by prefixing a syllable. There is, however, another class of such words, in which the second syllable differs from the first in the initial consonant, which, for some reason, is generally a labial. Thus side by side with खद्खदाना, खलखलाना are found खद्वदाना and खलबलाना with the same meaning. So also चुलचुलाना and चुलबुलाना, the latter with the different, though allied, meaning of being restless or fidgety. In other examples there is some slight difference of meaning in the various forms, thus from चर्, which has the general sense of moving, come the adjectives चरचरा "talkative," चरपरा "acrid, pungent," चरफरा "active," चरबरा "expert, alert," whence the verbs चरचराना "to crackle, to sputter, to scold," चरपराना "to smart," चरफराना "to shake, swing," चरबराना "to speak plausibly, to wheedle." Other instances are—

छटपटाना "to toss, tumble, flounder."
झडबडाना "to be on fire."
झिलमिलाना "to flicker."
तडफडाना "to flutter."
तिरमिराना "to dazzle, glisten."
लटपटाना "to stagger."
लडबडाना "to stammer, stutter."

In Panjabi, as also to a great extent in other languages, there is a tendency to use a reduplicated substantive with an ancillary verb, rather than a reduplicated verb itself. These substantives are, to a large extent, imitative or onomatopoetic, as ठों ठों करना "to bang, to pop," expressing the sound of a gun going off, चुं चुं करना "to pipe," as young birds. It has, however, a large number of the same words, as Hindi. Of these, the following may be cited: चिडचिडाउणा "to prate, sputter," चिडमिडाउणा "to smart," चुलचुलाउणा and चुलबुल° "to flutter," झणझणाउणा "to tingle" as the limbs when benumbed.

In Sindhi, also, I find reduplicated nouns, but few, if any, verbs, and the language does not appear to be rich even in those. From लहलह "blaze," comes लहलहाइणु "to blaze;" and a few more may be found, but the large group given in Hindi, to which many more might have been added, is either not existent or not recorded.

Gujarati is fuller in this respect, as कडकडवुं and कडकडावुं "to rattle," also खडखडवुं; चटपटवुं "to fret," चणचणवुं "to throb, smart," छणछणवुं "to clink, clank," also झणझणवुं; फडफडवुं "to flap, to scold," and फडफडावुं; लडबडवुं "to shake, rock." In its vocabulary Gujarati agrees in the main with Hindi.

As might be expected from the genius of Marathi, there is a great variety of such verbs, more even than in Hindi. In examining only the first consonant of the alphabet, numerous formations of this kind are observed. Thus from क्रान्त for Skr. क्लान्त "fatigued," by prefixing a shortened form कं, they make कंक्रांतणें "to be distressed, to starve," and कंकांतणें "to worry, harass." From the onomatop. कच "brawl," "noise," "row," comes first a reduplicated noun कचकच, and then कचकचणें "to gnash the teeth," कचाचणें "to screech," कचकरणें "to slip, give way with a noise." With a second syllable added, beginning

(as we have seen in H.) as such syllables often do with a labial, is the imitative substantive **कचमच** expressive of "squashing," "muddling of soft substances," also of "things grating on the ear," or "being gritty in the mouth," whence **कचमणें** (from **कचमचणें**) "to dabble with mud," "to stir," "to finger," which, from a sort of remembrance of **मळ** "dirt," is often changed into **कचमळणें** "to make a mess by dabbling." Another imitative syllable, which it is not necessary to regard as formally derived from Sanskrit **कृत्** "cut," or from **कष्ट** "trouble," though the existence of these words has probably led the native mind in that direction, is **कट** expressive of "teasing, quarrelling;" whence **कटकटणें** "to wrangle, tease by squabbling," "to make harsh or cracking sounds." Allied to this is the word **कडकड** expressive of "the snapping of little things," whence **कडकडणें**, which may be generally rendered "to go kaḍkaḍ," that is, "to crash, crack, peal, to squabble, to hiss and bubble as hot water, oil," etc., also, "to be violently angry." Perhaps connected with this is **कडमडणें** "to be feverish, to glow, ache," which, from some remembrance of **मोड** "breaking," is also pronounced **कडमोडणें**. In these outlying words, the irregular cavalry of language, forms melt into one another, like a cloud of Pandours or Cossacks hovering on the outskirts of an army, bound by no law, and disregarding all the acknowledged tactics. A list here follows:

कणकणणें "to be feverish," from **कण** and **कणकण** "feverishness," "heat and throbbing," "cramp."

करकरणें "to caw" (as a crow), from **करकर** "cawing" or any other harsh sound.

कळकळणें "to glow with heat, to be qualmish" (as the stomach), from **कळकळ** a word meaning "all sorts of disorders brought on by heat, or rage," possibly connected with Sanskrit **कलह** "dispute."

कसकसणें "to ache, shudder, palpitate," from कसकस "pains and aches."

कळमळणें the same as कळकळणें.

कळवळणें "to writhe, yearn."

किचकिचणें "to chatter" (as a monkey), from किचकिच "any gritty or sharp clacking sound."

कुणकुणणें "to whisper, mutter, murmur," from कुणकुण "low, soft murmuring."

Under other letters the following may be quoted:

झडझडणें "to go to work smartly," from झडझड "smartly, quickly," connected with झट, which in all the languages means "quick!" "look sharp!"

झणझणणें "to tinkle, tingle, ring."

झळझळणें "to glitter, sparkle."

झरझरणें "to trickle, ooze, pine away."

फरफरणें "to twitch, flutter."

मिरमिरणें "to sting, be pungent."

In Bengali such forms are less common, it is by nature the language of a poor scanty population, and when Bengal became rich and populous, new ideas were expressed by borrowing from Sanskrit, instead of forming new words from the existing resources. There are numerous reduplicated nouns, but these are verbalized rather by adding the verb *kar*, than by making a new verb. Thus, where M. makes a verb jhaṇjhaṇaṇeṇ, B. prefers to say झन झन or झन्‌झन करिते. The following are a few examples:

घुणघुणाइते "to buzz, growl."

झिकझिक करिते "to blaze, glitter."

टनटन क° "to throb, ache."

टिपटिपाइते "to fidget, twitch."

ঠকাঠকি ক° "to backbite or quarrel mutually."
ঠুকঠুকা ক° "to rap, tap."
ঢলঢল ক° "to sparkle, shine."
থুরথুরিতে "to quiver, tremble, shake."
ভণভণাইতে "to buzz, hum."
ভুডভুডাইতে "to murmur, whisper."

Many of these words are, as it has been seen, onomatopoetic, and in a language so unfixed as Bengali, it is impossible to say how many are really admitted into the proper stock of the language, and how many are mere local or individual peculiarities. Thus Bharat Chandra adorns, or disfigures, his poems by innumerable fanciful words of this sort, which probably no one but he ever used, and which he has merely invented for the occasion, *e.g.*

ঝনঝন কঙ্কণ রণরণ নূপুর।
ঘুনু ঘুনু ঘংঘুর বোলে॥

"The bracelets go *jhan jhan!* the anklets go *ran ran!* *Ghunu ghunu* goes the girdle of bells."—B.-S. 299.

The remarks made about Bengali apply equally to Oriya, in which there is not any very extended use either of reduplicated or onomatopoetic nouns or verbs.

§ 31. Occasional mention has been made in the foregoing sections of some of the stems used in the Gipsy verb. That strange, wandering, low-caste people has, however, picked up many of its words from Iranian and Slavonic, as well as from non-Aryan sources. But true to the original instincts of its race, it has retained Aryan stems for its most common words, only adopting new words to express the few new ideas which, in spite of its nomad unsociable life, have been forced upon it by circumstances.

Rejection of initial *h* occurs in many words, as *asáva* "to

laugh," Skr. √हस्, even when the initial *h* has arisen from an earlier aspirated letter, as in *uvâva* "to become," Skr. √भू, Pr. हो. An *a* is also prefixed to roots, as *arakâva* "to guard, to find," Skr. √रक्ष, H. रखना; and in the impersonal verb *arâttilotar* "it is night," Skr. रात्रि. As might be expected, however, the Prakrit or modern form of verbal stems is that generally adopted. Thus *katâva* "to spin," H. कातना, *kerâva* "to do," H. करना, *kinâva* "to buy," Skr. √क्री, H. कीनना, *ghoshâva* "to clean," Skr. √घृष्, H. घिसाना "to rub," but घृष् might give a Pr. घुष्, whence this word, also pronounced *khoshâva*. *Kovliovâva*, from *kovlo uvâva*, Skr. कोमल, with हो "to be," "to be soft;" *khânjiovâva*, from *khânj uvâva*, "to scratch, to itch," Skr. कण्डू "itch," H. खाज, खुजली. *Khâsiovâva*, also *khâsâva*, "to cough," Skr. √कास्, but H. खांसना. *Khandâva* "to dig," Skr. √खन्; *khâva* "to eat," Skr. √खाद्, Pr. खा, H. *id.*, but the nomads of northern Rumelia use a form *khaderâva*, which preserves the *d* of Sanskrit. *Khîniovâva* for *khino uvâva*, Skr. खिन्न with हो "to be fatigued."

There are three very similar verbs which illustrate the principle of stem-formation in this language well; *ghedâva* "to assemble," *ghelâva* "to bring," *ghenâva* "to count." The last of these three reminds us of Skr. √गण्, H. गिनना, for the *gh* is only so written to secure the *g* being pronounced hard; the p.p. is *ghendo*, Skr. गणित; *ghedâva* is apparently for *ghen dâva*, the latter word meaning "to give," and being added as an ancillary, just as देना is in H., so that *ghen dâva* = H. गिन देना. Its p.p. is *ghedino*, and that of *dâva* is *dino*, Pr. दिणो, Old-H. दीन्हा and दीना, which confirms this derivation. Similarly, *ghelâva* is *ghen lâva*, where *lâva* means "to take," H. लेना From these two examples, it would appear that the *ghe* of *ghedâva* and *ghelâva* is not connected with *ghenâva*, but is Skr. √ग्रह, Pr. गेण्ह "to take."

Strange perversions of meaning occur, as might be expected, thus *chalavâva*, Skr. √चल, H. चलना, should mean "to cause to

move," H. चलाना. It means, however, "to beat," thus *jâ, dik kon chalâvela o vudâr,* "Go, see who knocked at the door!" This is singularly close to the Indian languages. We might say in H. *jâ, dekh kon chalâya dwâr ko.* The confusion between the two meanings of Skr. √चर् is apparent here also. In Skr. चर् and चल् mean "to move," and the former, by a natural transition, is used also of cattle grazing. In H. they are kept apart, चलना meaning "to move," and चरना "to graze." In Gipsy *charâva* "to eat," makes its p.p. *chalo,* the causal *charavâva* is "to lead out cattle to pasture," and a neuter verb *châriovâva* or *chaliovâva* "to be satiated." Again, *chalarâva* "to be satiated with," p.p. *chalardo* "full," "satisfied."

Frequently, as in the Indian languages, a primitive verb is wanting, and its place supplied by a compound, thus they say, *chumi dâva* "to kiss," Skr. √चुम्ब्, H. चूमना, but the Gipsy is =चूम देना. So, also, *chungâr dâva* "to spit," probably to be referred to Skr. √चीव्, and connected with H. छींक, M. शींक "sneeze."

Under ज् occur words familiar to us in India, as *janâva* "to know," Skr. √ज्ञा, H. जानना; *jâva* "to go," Skr. √या, H. जाना, with its old-Tadbhava p.p. *gelo,* B. गेल, H. गिया, गया; *jangâva* "to awaken," Skr. √जागृ, H. जगाना, and the neuter *jangâniovâva,* H. जागरत होना, जागना; *jivâva* "to live," Skr. √जीव्, H. जीवना, जीना, p.p. *jivdo,* Skr. जीवित.

Under त we find *tavâva* "to cook," Skr. तप् p.p. *tavdo,* Skr. तापित, also *tatto* "hot," Pr. तत्त, Skr. तप्त, H. तत्ता. Connected with this probably are *táp dâva, táv dâva,* "to beat," where Skr. ताप, H. ताव, has passed over from the meaning of heat through that of vexation into that of beating. The neuter is *tabiovâva* or *tapiovâva* "to be burnt," as in *leskeré sheresté tábiolas shamdán* "at his head burnt a candle." A more modern form with the characteristic *l* of the p.p. in M. G. B. and O. is *tablo* "hot." A derivative is *tabarâva* (a causal) "to cause to burn."

It is apparent, from these examples, which might be indefinitely increased, that the base of Gipsy verbal stems is the Prakrit, in its earlier as well as its more modern forms; that the phases of the Indian verb are also fairly represented; that the practice of using ancillaries is also not unknown; and that thus this wild and wandering race has carried with it, wherever it has gone on the face of the earth, the principles and sentiments of speech formation which it inherits from the land of its birth, the deserts of the Indus and the Chenab.

CHAPTER II.

THE SIMPLE TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 32. Classification of Tenses.—§ 33. The Simple Present or Aorist.—§ 34. The Imperative.—§ 35. The Future in Old Hindi and Gujarati.—§ 36. Type of the Active Verb in Sindhi and Marathi. § 37. Synopsis of the Simple Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 38. Simple Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 32. The preceding Chapter has dealt only with the stem, or that part of the verb which remains unchanged throughout all moods and tenses; we have now to consider the processes used to express the various relations which the idea involved in the stem is capable of undergoing.

The tenses of the modern verb fall naturally into three classes or grades, and it is surprising that so patent a fact has not been noticed by any of the grammar-writers. It is impossible to give, as some writers do, a fixed number for the tenses in any of our languages, for the combinations are almost infinite; but a broad, general classification would, one might suppose, have suggested itself to the most mechanical compiler. The grammar-writers, however, including even authors so superior to the general run as Trumpp and Kellogg, have been, for the most part, led away by giving their attention, in the first place, if not exclusively, to the *meanings* of the various tenses. This practice has led them to lose sight of the primary idea as evolved out of the *structure* of each tense. Had the structure been first considered, it would have been easy to discover which of the many conventional senses of a given tense

was its primary and legitimate one, and by adhering to this process, a more simple and natural classification of tenses would have been arrived at.

Kellogg does, indeed, clearly grasp the principles of the structure of the Hindi verb, but he is too metaphysical in his considerations about the meaning of each tense, and has adopted a phraseology which cannot but prove bewildering to the student, and which scientific linguists are not likely to adopt.

In Sindhi Trumpp divides the verb into simple and compound tenses. The simple present is by him called the Potential, though he is well aware of the fact that it is really the old Sanskrit present indicative, and in his philological notes duly recognizes the fact. His classification is sufficient for Sindhi, though it would hardly cover all the tenses in the cognate languages. As usual, he is, in this respect, much in advance of all other grammar-writers on the modern languages. In the Grammars of Gujarati, Marathi, and Oriya, the same distinction between simple and compound tenses is preserved, though in many cases erroneously worked out.

It appears to me, however, that for purposes of comparison between all the languages of this group, a finer distinction still is required, and I would suggest a threefold division, which it will be my business in the following pages to substantiate and describe in detail.

First, there are the simple tenses,—exact modern equivalents of corresponding tenses in the Sanskrit and Prakrit verb, whose form is due to the ordinary processes of phonetic change and development, and in which the old synthetic structure, though very much abraded, is still distinctly traceable.

Secondly, the participial tenses, formed from participles of the Sanskrit verb, used either alone, or with fragments of the Sanskrit substantive verb, worked into and amalgamated with them so as to form in each case one word only. In the latter

case these tenses have a pseudo-synthetical appearance, though the principle on which they are formed is really analytical.

Thirdly, compound tenses, in which the base is a participle with an auxiliary verb added to it, but not incorporated into it, each person of each tense thus consisting of two words in juxtaposition.

A further development of the analytical system produces the large class of verbs with ancillaries, in which the master-stem, so to call it, remains unchanged, and the ancillary does all the work of conjugation. Each of these classes will now be considered in its turn. The present chapter is devoted to the first class, or simple tenses.

It must here also be noted that the seven languages have but one conjugation each, that is to say, that the terminations and methods of forming tenses in use in any one language are applied without variation to every verb in that language. A partial exception may, at first sight, seem to occur in Sindhi and Marathi, in both of which there is one method for conjugating neuter, and another for active verbs. It will be shown, however, that though at first sight the terminations of the neuter verb seem to differ from those of the active, as in M. **मी सुटें** "I escape," *n*, but **मी सोडीं** "I set free," *a*, yet in reality the scheme of terminations is one and the same for both, and the difference is due to a process of preparing the root to receive terminations, and to the abrasion of those terminations, in some cases from euphonic causes, and not to the existence of a double system of conjugation.

§ 33. First among the simple tenses comes, in all the languages, the old Sanskrit present indicative, which, in form, preserves clear traces of its origin, though, as in its abraded condition it now no longer indicates with sufficient clearness present time, it has wandered away into all sorts of meanings, and is given by grammarians under all sorts of titles. Con-

sidering the very vague meanings which it now expresses, especially in regard to the note of time, it has seemed to me that the Greek term "aorist" more accurately describes this tense in its modern usage than any other. The fact that it *is* a present, no matter what additional indefinite meanings may be attached to it, is, however, necessary to be borne in mind, and I think that in modern grammars it should always head the list of tenses, as the simplest and most genuine, and legitimately first in order, of them all. In those languages of this group with which I am personally acquainted, I can assert, from my own experience, that it is far more frequently used in colloquial practice as a present, pure and simple, than our grammar-writers, basing their views too much on the literary aspects of the languages, would have us believe.

The terminations of the aorist in the classical form of each language in the present day are the following. (For the full forms, see the tables at the end of this chapter.)

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PLUR 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	ऊं	ए	ए	एं	ओ	एं
Panjabi	आं	एं	ए	ये	ओ	अण्
Sindhi	आं	एं	ए	ऊं	ओ	अनि
Gujarati	उं	ए	ए	ए्ये (ये)	ओ	ए
Marathi	एं	एस (अस)	ए	ऊं	आं	अत्
Oriya	एं	उ	ए	उं	अ (ŏ)	अन्ति
Bengali	इ	इस	ए	इ	अ (ŏ)	एन् (अन्)

The third person singular is the same in all the languages, ending universally in ए. In Oriya poetry it ends in अइ, and this now somewhat antiquated form is still occasionally heard, as in करइ "he does," अटइ "it is." The form in अइ is in use in the rustic dialects of Hindi and Gujarati, as is also the intermediate form ऐ. It seems certain that this universal ए has been formed from अइ, the termination of this person in

Prakrit, and corresponds to the Sanskrit अति. Thus चलति becomes चलइ, चले, and चले. The rustic Hindi forms चलहि, चलय, are, I think, to be explained by the Prakrit process of inserting य and ह to fill a hiatus; thus चलति becomes चलहि and चलयि. In the hill dialects of Kumaon and Garhwâl the final vowel is lost, and they say चल for चले. The same takes place in Nepali.

The third person plural similarly points to the same person in the Sanskrit present. Oriya has here preserved the termination unaltered, as करन्ति "they do," मारन्ति "they beat," though in common conversation there is a tendency to drop the final *i*, and to say *karant*, *mârant*. P. S. and B. have lost the त, and with it P. and B. have rejected the vowel also, which Sindhi retains. Hindi has softened the nasal consonant to anunâsika, and Gujarati has rejected the nasal altogether, so that the 3 plural is the same in form as 3 singular. This also is the case in the dialects of Hindi spoken in Rajputana, which have मारै "they strike," where classical H. has मारैं. After the rejection of the त, which is a phonetically anomalous, though widely used process, the remaining form would be अनि, as मारनि, closely approximate to which is Garhwâli मारन. The Braj form मारैं is deducible also from मारनि, through an intermediate मारंइ and मारइं. The last-named form is still in use in the Eastern Hindi area, and has in Bhojpuri modulated into मारीं; while the typo मरंइ is preserved in the Oudh and Riwa form मारंयं, where य has been substituted for इ, and an inorganic second anunâsika added, concerning which there will be more to say presently.

Marathi stands alone in preserving the *t* of the Sanskrit *anti*. In old Marathi the final vowel is preserved and lengthened, as उठती "they rise;" in the modern language उठत. In the Konkani dialect[1] all three persons of the plural are said to end

[1] Grammatica da Lingua Concani (Goa, 1859), p. 74.

in *ti*. Thus in the Portuguese method of transliteration, which is not very accurate, the words are thus written, *amî assati* "we are," *tumî assati* "ye are," *te assati* "they are." We should probably write असति = classical M. असत. The author tells us, however, that one may also say *amî assaũ* "we are," which is classical M. first person plural आम्ही असूं, though in Konkani it may be used for all three persons of the plural.

The second person singular ends in ए in H. and G., and is from Skr. असि by elision of स, thus चलसि, चलहि, चलइ, चलै (Braj), चले. In B. it formerly ended in असि, but the final vowel has been rejected, and the *a* weakened to *i*, thus देखिस "thou seest;" this form has been excluded from literature, but is extremely common in speech. In M. also the स has persisted, as सुटेस "thou dost get free," where the *e* is apparently due to the epenthesis of the final *i* of an earlier सुटसि. The *i* may, however, be dropped altogether, without leaving any trace, and one may say सुटस. P. and S. take anunâsika, as करें "thou doest," which is perhaps due to the influence of the ह, which has disappeared. The termination द्स is often heard among the lower classes in the Hindi area, but always in a past sense, and extended to all persons, as किहिस "he did," कहिस "he said" (also I or thou). The O. termination उ for this person is abnormal, and I am at a loss to account for it.

The second person plural in all but M. ends in *o*, for though B. and O. write अ, they pronounce ŏ, and when emphasis is used, ō. There is no difficulty in affiliating this termination to the corresponding Skr. 2 plural in *tha*, through Pr. *dha* and *ha*, thus चलह "ye go," where, by elision of *h* and conflation of the two vowels, we should get चलअ and चला. The final *â* has been lengthened to *o*, as in the plural of nouns. Marathi also forms this person on the analogy of its noun, in which the final anuswâra is typical of the plural, so that we get चलां. The process, however, is quite modern, for in the mediæval poets the second person plural ends in *â* without anuswâra.

There is some obscurity about the first person in both numbers. In H. and G. the singular ends in ऊं (उं), while the plural ends in ऐं (ए); but in S. M. and O. it is the plural which ends in ऊं, while ऐं is in M. and O. the termination of the singular. Now if we look to the earlier forms, it would seem more natural to derive चलें from चलामि, where the presence of the final इ accounts easily for the ए, and so the plural चलामः with its Prakrit representative चलामु would regularly result in ऊं. Moreover, in many dialects even of Hindi, the plural is still चलउं and चलौं, चलूं, चलों. In the Rajputana dialects it is चलां, which agrees with the singular of modern P. and S. For five of the languages Skr. चलामि softened to चलांइ would become चलाइं, whence M. and O. चलें "I go," and further shortened, B. चालि *id.*, while the rejection of final इ gives P. चलां, S. हलां "I go." The singular, therefore, in these five is easily understood. So also is the plural, for Skr. चलामः, Pr. चलामु, would become चलांउ and चलाउं, whence dialectic H. चलां (Rajputana), चलूं, चलौं, चलों (in the Himalayan dialects), S. हलूं, M. *id.*, G. चलुं. But how are we to account for the singular and plural in H. and G.? It seems as if an inversion of the two persons had taken place. It is probable enough that a form originally plural should have become singular, because natives universally speak of themselves as "we" even when only one person is speaking. In this way the plural form may have passed over into a singular. And this tendency would be further developed by the fact that in H. and G. the languages which make the singular end in *um*, the pronoun of the first person was, in mediæval times, and dialectically still is, हौं, so that it would be natural to say हौं करौं "I do," on account of the identity of sound. In the other languages this pronoun has dropped out of use (see Vol. II. p. 302). Even if this conjecture be disapproved, and if it be thought that the singular करौं is derived from Pr. करामि by loss of the final *i* and softening of the *m* into anuswâra, we are still as far as ever from the

origin of the plural in *ẽ*. I think that this might perhaps be accounted for by the form of the third person plural having passed over into the first. That forms belonging to one person or case do often get extended to other persons or cases, is generally admitted. In the Riwa dialect of H. the 1 pl. ends in न, as मारन "we strike," which seems to be connected with the 3 pl. of P. S. and B., and in most of the dialects the 1 pl. is identical with 3 pl. Now the 3 pl. has a right to an *i*, coming as it does from a Skr. *-anti*, and the presence of the *n* in the Riwa, and other eastern Hindi dialects, points to the same source. The inorganic anuswâra in poetic Hindi, as मारहिं "they strike," and dialectic forms, seems to have arisen from a feeling that final anuswâra was the proper type of plurality, and thus depends upon a false analogy with the plural of nouns. The widespread Bhojpuri dialect has मारीं both for 1 pl. and 3 pl., where the ending retains the nasal and the *i*, though the latter is lengthened. We may, however, also suppose that करें 1 pl., "we do," is really the singular, and that the real plural having been used for a singular, the real singular became a plural. For though a native is fond of speaking of himself individually as "we," yet the consciousness of only one person being referred to might lead him to use the singular verb, just as the Muhammadans in Orissa, in their corrupt Urdu, say *ham karũngâ* "I will do," literally "nos faciam," a plural pronoun with a singular verb. So, also, the French peasant says "je faisons," "j'avons;" and the English one "we goes," "he do," "they says."

The above remarks leave this difficult point still far from elucidation. It is surprising that none of the grammarians have observed the existence of the difficulty, or offered any hints towards its solution. It is further complicated by the fact that P. and G. insert *i*, *i*, *ay* or *iy* between the stem and the termination of the 1 pl., thus P. पढ़ये, पढ़िये, G. पढ़ीये, पढ़ये "we read." Here it has been suggested that the Apabhraṇça

form in *imo* is the origin, thus हसिमो "we laugh" became हसियो and हसिये, but the change from म to य is unusual.

On the whole, then, the correspondence of the modern forms of this tense with those of the ancient synthetical present is so close that there can be no doubt as to its derivation therefrom. The terminations, however, have been so much worn away, and in some respects confused with one another, that the tense itself no longer indicates present time with sufficient definiteness, and other forms, which will be treated of hereafter, have been called in to supply the place of a present. This tense has thus become vague, and in modern times is often used in both a future and a past sense. In Marathi grammars it is set down as an "Habitual Past," so that मी सुटें means "I used to get loose." In Panjabi it is given as an indefinite future, as मैं घल्लां "I would send," or, "I am going to send." It bears this meaning also in Hindi. Still, in literature, it is frequently the present, and nothing else, while in Bengali it is used as an "historic present," namely, that tense which is used by historians when, to give vigour to their style, they speak of past events in the present tense, thus *tatpare katak-guli loka giyâ pâthara sangraha kare, emana samaye ekakhâni bara pâthara khasiyâ pare,* "After that several people went and collected stones, suddenly a great block of stone slipped and fell;" where *kare* and *pare,* though they must be translated by preterites, are really the old synthetic present. This practice is extremely common in modern Bengali, both in the literary and in the colloquial style.[1]

It is unnecessary further to pursue the question of the

[1] In the Gujarati grammars of Leckey and Edalji this tense appears several times over. It is the first present and first habitual past of the Indicative mood, first Aorist of the Subjunctive, first present of the second Potential and the Optative. All this merely means that it is used in the senses which, in a Latin or Greek verb, would be assigned to those tenses; but as the words are the same in all, it would be quite as accurate, and much simpler, to record it once only, and note that it is used in a variety of senses.

various senses in which this tense is now employed, as the point is one which belongs not to the domain of comparative philology, but to the grammar of each individual language. The name "aorist," which I have suggested, has the advantage of being indefinite as to time, and in this way represents fairly the scope of the tense.

§ 34. The next simple tense is the IMPERATIVE, and this, like the aorist, is descended from the imperative of the ancient languages. As might be expected, it closely resembles the aorist or old present, and has the following scheme of endings:

	S. 1.	2.	3.	P. 1.	2.	3.
Hindi	ऊं	√[1]	ए	एं	ओ	एं
Panjabi		√			ओ	
Sindhi		उ			ओ	
Gujarati		√			ओ	
Marathi	ऊं	√	ओ	ऊं	आ	ओत
Oriya	एं	√	उ	उ	अ (ŏ)	अन्तु
Bengali		√	उक		अ (ŏ)	उन्

In this scheme only the second persons singular and plural have been given for P. S. and G., because the other persons are the same as the aorist. This is also true of H., the aorist being used as a potential in all these languages, the first and third persons of both numbers can only be considered imperatives in so far as the potential is itself imperative, just as in Latin and other Indo-European languages. So we may say in H. *paṛhe* "he reads," or, "let him read." It was shown in §§ 4, 5, etc., that even in Pali and the Prakrits the present and imperative had been confounded together, a practice that has paved the way for the modern system.

It is only in M. O. and B. that the third singular has a

[1] This mark means that the 2 sing. is the simple stem, as *kar* "do thou!" *paṛh* "read thou!"

separate form, which may in all cases be traced back to the Skr. 3 sg. अतु, Pr. अउ, which in M. becomes ओ. In M., however, the termination ऊ for this tense is also in use. To the same origin may be ascribed the O. उ and B. उक, the final क of which, however, presents considerable difficulty. It will be discussed along with a similar termination in the future.

The third plural in M. O. and B. is parallel to the singular, and is connected with Skr. अन्तु, just as the corresponding person in the aorist is with Skr. अन्ति. In O., owing to the influence of the final *u*, this termination is often written *untu*, as *karuntu* "let them do," *jâûntu* "let them go."

In all but S. the second singular is the bare verbal stem. In M. a final अ is heard, and slightly also in B. and O. In the dialect of Northern Gujarat a य is sounded after the final consonant, as कर्य "do thou," बोल्य "speak thou," चाल्य "go thou."[1] But in the rest this person ends with the final consonant, as *kar* "do," *dekh* "see." In the H. mediæval poets this person often ends in हि, as stated in §§ 4, 5, 7, corresponding to which is a plural in ऊ, as

तुम्ह लेऊ तुम्ह लेऊ मुष जंपि जोध ॥

"Seize ye! seize ye! muttering of war."—Chand, Pr. R. xix. 33.

This form is also found in G., and in Old-M. takes the shape of एं, as पावें "find thou!" for पावइं, from पावहि, with inorganic anuswâra. Sindhi, which causes all its words to end in a vowel, makes this person end in उ, which is apparently only a weakening of the final vowel of the stem. The dialectic forms of H. present few noteworthy peculiarities, in some cases the forms which Kellogg gives as imperatives are really other tenses used imperatively. Thus the form मारव "beat ye!" common in the eastern area, is really a future, "ye shall beat." Often, too, in colloquial Hindi, and in Urdu, in giving an order,

[1] Vans Taylor, Grammar, p. 89.

the future is used, as राम को अपने संग लाओगे "You will bring Râm with you," that is, "bring him with you!" So also the infinitive, as यह सब काम आजही करना "Do all this work to-day," literally, "(Take care) to do," इस रिण को चुका दे तब चली जाना "Pay this debt, and then go away."[1]

Most of the seven languages have, in addition to the ordinary imperative, a respectful form used in addressing a superior, or in entreating and asking a favour. This, in Hindi, ends in Sing. इये, Plur. इयो. In P. this form is seldom employed, and when used, may be considered as borrowed from H. In the other languages are—

Sindhi	Sing. 2.	इजे, एजे,	Plur. 2.	इजो, एजो.
Gujarati	,,	अजे,	,,	अजो.

In a few stems in H. which end in *e*, ज is inserted between the stem and the termination, the final vowel being changed to *i*, as ले "take," लीजिये, दे "give," दीजिये; the stem कर "do" is in this case changed to की, making कीजिये "be pleased to do." Sindhi sometimes takes in the singular इजु instead of इजे, probably on the analogy of the simple imperative, which ends in *u*; and in the plural, instead of इजो, the forms इजा, इजाइ, इजाह, इजाङ are used when great respect is implied, as वञिजा "be pleased to go," सुणिजाह "be pleased to hear." Many of the rustic dialects of Hindi have also this form; thus Rajputana इजे, इज्यै, ईजे, or simply जे, as मारिज्यै, मारीजे, मार्जे "be pleased to strike."

Vararuchi (vii. 20, 21, 22) teaches that *jja* and *jjâ* may be optionally substituted for the affixes of the present and future, also for those of the imperative, in verbs which end in a vowel. In Old-Marathi, accordingly, a form with inserted ज is found in present, past, and future, as well as imperative, as करिजेतो "he does," करिजेला "he did," करिजेल "he will do," करिजे "do

[1] Pincott's Sakuntalâ, p. 12, a first-rate text-book in admirable idiomatic Hindi.

thou," in which the junction vowel between the inserted ज and the termination has been changed to *e*. As, however, the inserted ज is also a type of the passive, this form has occasionally been mistakenly used in a passive sense, as मी मारिजेतो "I am struck." Lassen (p. 357) refers this increment to the Skr. potential, which is confirmed by the Pali forms quoted in § 4, and by the dotted ज़ in S., which usually indicates that a double letter has existed. The य of the Skr., as in पचेयं, is doubled in Pa. नचेय्यामि, and hardened to ज्ज in Pr., whence the modern ज, with lengthening of the preceding vowel in H., and change of *ĕ* to *a* in G. (cf. G. द्‍ख = देख). As Vararuchi, in extending the use of this increment to present and future, is writing of the Maharashtri dialect, it is not surprising that the modern Marathi should show a wider use thereof than the sister idioms, in which the sense of a potential has passed over into that of a respectful imperative, or, as Trumpp well calls it, precative.

To this tense belong the two M. words म्हणजे and पाहिजे. The former is the precative of म्हण (Skr. √ भन्) "to speak," and means literally, "be pleased to say;" in modern times it means "that is to say," "*i.e.*," "videlicet," as अश्व म्हणजे घोडा "*açva*, that is to say, a horse." It has also a future form म्हणजेल, meaning "in that case," as पाऊस पडला म्हणजेल पीक होईल "If rain falls, *then* (or, in that case) there will be a crop." The latter, with a plural पाहिजेत, and a future पाहिजेल, is from पाहणे "to see," literally "please to see," and means "it ought," as हें काम केलें पाहिजे "this work *ought* to be done," literally "please to see (that) this work is done;" "see" being used in M., as in English, in the sense of "seeing to," "providing for," "taking care for."[1]

Similar to these is the H. चाहिये, lit. "please to wish," but

[1] See Molesworth's Marathi Dictionary under these words; also Godbol's Marathi Grammar, p. 92.

meaning "ought," and, like पाहिजे in M., used with the past participle, as यह काम किया चाहिये "this work *ought* to be done." Colloquially, however, and even among good writers, चाहिये is often, like other ancillary verbs, constructed with the oblique form of the infinitive, and it would not be absolutely incorrect to say करने चाहिये. In fact, the construction both in M. and H. with the past participle remounts to a period when the participial character of this form was not yet forgotten. Since, however, the past participle in H. has come to be used simply as a preterite, this construction has lost its significance. Not so in M., where, as will be seen hereafter, the distinction between the preterite and participle still survives.

Gujarati has an analogous formation in the word जोइये "it is wanted," French "il faut," Italian "bisogna." It is from the verb जोवुं "to see," and is used with a dative of the subject, as मनें बीजो वर जोइये नहीं "I want no other blessing," like Latin "mihi necesse est, oportet, decet," etc. It is conjugated throughout the full range of tenses, as सफर मां जे कांइ जोइतुं हतुं "Whatever *was required* for the voyage," जो मारे हरण जोइशे तो "*Should I require* venison, then . . . ."

§ 35. A simple future derived from the old synthetical tense exists only in Gujarati and in Old-Hindi. The tense is as follows, taking the stem *kar* "do," as a type:

	SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
Gujarati	करीश	करशे	करशे	करिशुं	करशो	करशे.
Old-H.	करिहौं	करिहै	करिहै	करिहैं	करिहो	करिहैं.

Kellogg (Gr. p. 238) gives the following interesting transitional type from eastern Rajputana :—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
करस्यूं करसूं	करसी	करसी	करस्यां	करस्यो	करसी.

There are, in fact, four types of the future in the modern languages, having for their characteristics respectively the letters स, ग, ल, and ब. The *sa* type has a variant *ha*. The *ga*, *la*, and *ba* types belong to the class of participial tenses, and will be discussed under that head. The *sa* type, with its variant *ha*, found in G. and Old-H., with dialectic variations in several of the modern rustic dialects of H., is the only one which is directly derived from the corresponding Sanskrit and Prakrit tense. It is the Sanskrit future in *ishya*, as in *karishyâmi*, which, as already pointed out in § 4, becomes in Pali *karissâmi*, and retains that form in the higher Prakrits. The transition from this to the eastern Rajput करसूं seems to rest upon the confusion between the first persons of the singular and plural already noticed in H.; for Rajp. करस्यां, though now a plural, represents करिस्सामि better than does करसूं, which latter leads to Pr. plural करिस्सामु, just as does G. करिशुं. The G. 1 sing. करीश has rejected all terminations, and lengthened the preceding vowel; this form is also, in the general confusion, due to the corruption of personal affixes, used for the 2 sing. The second and third persons of both numbers may be traced back to the corresponding persons of the Prakrit just as in the aorist, and the loss of the *i* in the second syllable is probably due to the neglect of vowels in G., where the first plural even is written in three ways, as करीशुं, करिशुं, or करशुं. The orthography of G. is, it will be remembered, still unfixed.

In most of the Prakrits the future has undergone a further weakening, by which the स्स of the higher types has been resolved into ह, so that we get such forms as गमिहिति side by side with गमिस्सति. It is from this weakened form that the Hindi type is derived. Thus 3 sing. करिहै represents Pr. करिहइ from करिहति; 3 pl. करिहैं = करिहंति, and so on. Here also come in the old Purbi forms करिहहि, करिअहि, which are transitional from Pr. to Old-H. In poems in the Braj dialect occur such forms as करैहौं, करैहै, where the *ai* has crept into

the second syllable, probably from the analogy of the *ga* type *karai-gá*. The commonest form is that given above, with short *i* in the second syllable. This is Chand's ordinary future, as

हम सावंत सब जुझिहैं ॥
राज चंदेल न जाय ॥

"We nobles all *will fight*,
(That) the kingdom of the Chandel may not perish."
—Pr. R. xxi. 94.

के सिर तुमहि समप्पिहौं ॥
के सिर धरिहौं छत्र ॥

"Either I *will yield* my head to thee,
Or I *will put* the umbrella on my head."—Pr. R. i. 279.
(*i.e.* I will either die or conquer.)

कनवज लूटि रिधि सब हरिहौं ॥
पाछै जुध मोहोबे करिहौं ॥

"Having plundered Kanauj, I *will carry off* all your riches,
After that, I *will fight* at Mahoba."—*ib.* xxi. 87.

It is also the ordinary future throughout Tulsi Das's Ramayan, as

सबहि भाँति पिय सेवा करिहौं ॥
मारग जनित सकल श्रम हरिहौं ॥

"In every manner I *will serve* my beloved,
I *will take away* all the fatigue of the journey."
—Ay-k. 399.

Also universally in Kabir, as

ना जानो कब मारिहै क्या घेर क्या परदेस ॥

"Ye know not when he (*i.e.* death) *will strike*, whether at home or abroad."—Ram. xix. 5.

बहुरि न ऐसी पैहौ थाना ॥

"*You will* never *find* such a place again.—*ib.* xliii. 2.

where पैहौ = पाइहौ 2 pl. fut. of पाना "to find."

When the *ga* future, which is now the ordinary type in Hindi, arose, cannot be clearly defined. It is not in use in the

mediæval poets, and, as has been shown above, it has not succeeded in expelling the old synthetical future from the rustic dialects.

§ 36. In M. and S. the terminations of the old present or aorist, and those of the imperative in S., seem at first sight to differ in the active from those in the neuter verb, and some remarks are necessary in explanation of this peculiarity. The neuter सुटणें "to get loose," and the active सोडणें "to set free," are thus conjugated in the present in M.

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
सुटें	सुटेस (°टस)	सुटे	सुटूं	सुटां	सुटत.
सोडीं	सोडीस	सोडी	सोडूं	सोडां	सोडीत.

Similarly in S. the neuter हलणु "to go," and the active छड्डणु "to give up," conjugate the present thus:—

SING. 1.	2.	3.	PL. 1.	2.	3.
हलां	हलें	हले	हलूं	हलो	हलनि.
छडिआं	छडिएं	छडे	छडिऊं	छडिओ	छडीनि.
	छडें				छडिनि.
	छडीं				

On comparing these two sets of forms, it will be seen that the active differs from the neuter by insertion of ई in M., and of इ in S. This inserted vowel has, however, disappeared in some persons, as in M. first and second plural, and in S. third singular, and, optionally, also second singular and third plural. Some writers on Marathi seek to derive the forms of the neuter from those of the Skr. Âtmanepada, and the forms of the active from those of the Parasmaipada. There is, however, a fatal objection to this argument in the fact that the Skr. Âtmanepada had died out of use so early as the Prakrits, and that the neuter forms of M. agree closely with the forms in use in the other languages, where there is nothing to lead us to look for

an origin from the Âtmanepada, inasmuch as the known changes of the Parasmaipada afford a satisfactory explanation, and in those languages the type which in M. is restricted to neuter verbs is used for both neuter and active. A more probable supposition is that which would derive the forms of the active in M. and S. from the Skr. causal, the characteristic *aya* having been changed in Pr. to *e*, and still further shortened in S. to *i*, while in M. the personal terminations have been blended with the य of *aya* into a long vowel; thus M. सोडी presupposes an earlier form सोडइ or सोडे, for it must be noted that the termination ए resulting from Skr. अति, Pr. अइ, has been dropped in this word. So in the first sing. S. छडिआं represents an older छोटयामि, and is thus earlier in type than M. सोडों for सोडिएं, through सोडयाइं. The second singular in which the personal termination is retained also supports this view, for in it the characteristic ई holds the same place in the word as the characteristic *aya* of the Sanskrit causal, namely, *between* the stem and the termination: so it does in Sindhi in all the persons. The value of the comparative method is shown in cases like this where a student, who is guided by the facts of one language only, is liable to be misled, owing to want of the light supplied by the sister languages.

It is only in S. that the imperative differs in the active from that in the neuter. According to strict rule, the second singular of neuter verbs ends in *u*, as मरणु "to die," imperative मरु "die thou;" while in active verbs it ends in ऽ, as पालणु "to cherish," imperative पालि "cherish thou." Trumpp, however, gives a long list of active verbs whose imperative ends in *u*, while there are others which take both terminations. It is impossible, at present, satisfactorily to account for this irregularity, but it seems probable that active verbs in S. derived from actives in Sanskrit form the imperative in *u*, while those which are derived from S. causals form it in ऽ. Should this suggestion be confirmed by further research, the ऽ would

appear to be the representative of the Skr. *aya* of the causal. Thus while Skr. मर produces S. मरु, Skr. पालय produces S. पालि, shortened from पाले (Pr. पालेहि). The second plural of neuters ends in *o*, as हलो "go ye!" while that of actives ends in *io* or *yo*, as छडिओ or छड्यो. The earlier form in *iho* (Pr. इह) is also in use as छडिहो.

In the following list there is no reason why the imperative should not end in *u*, notwithstanding the rule, for the words are derived from simple Sanskrit active verbs of the Bhû conjugation, or, if in Sanskrit of other conjugations, yet reduced to the Bhû type in Prakrit.

पढणु "to read,"	imp.	पढु	Skr.	√पठ्	imp.	पठ.
पसणु "see,"	,,	पसु	,,	पश्यति	,,	पश्य.
पिहणु "grind,"	,,	पिङ	,,	√पिष्	,,	पिण्डि, but Pr. पीस (Hem. iv. 185).
चरणु "graze,"	,,	चरु	,,	√चर्	,,	चर.
रखणु "keep,"	,,	रखु	,,	√रक्ष्	,,	रक्ष.
कहणु "say,"	,,	कङ	,,	√कथ्	,,	कथय, but Pr. कह (Hem. iv. 2).

आखणु "to inform," makes आखु and आखि, it is from Skr. आख्या, imperative आख्याहि, from which comes regularly आखि, through a form आखहि, but this verb may be also neuter, as in "tell! tell!" and would thus, by the masses, be formed like neuters, and have आखु. धंवणु "to blow" (with bellows), makes धंवु and धंवि, it is from Skr. ध्मा, imp. धम, whence regularly धंवु. Here the form धंवि, the ordinary form for actives, may have been introduced from forgetfulness of the special reasons for that ending in *u*. As a general result, it may be suggested that each of these peculiar verbs requires to be traced back to its origin, in which case there will generally be found some special reason for the divergence from the normal type.

§ 37. Here follows a table showing the simple tenses in each language. A common verbal stem in each is given to exhibit the method of adding the terminations.

		HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.	ORIYA.	BANGALI.
		dekh "see."	*mār* "beat."	*hal* "go."	*chhod* "leave."	*suṭ* "escape."	*kar* "do."	*dekh* "see."
AORIST.	S. 1	देखूं	मारां	हलां	छोडुं	सुटें	करें	देखि
	2	देखे	मारें	हलें	छोडे	सुटेस (०टस)	करु	देखिस
	3	देखे	मारे.	हले	छोडे	सुटे	करे (करइ)	देखे
	Pl. 1	देखें	मारये	हलूं	छोडये	सुटूं	करुं	देखि
	2	देखो	मारो	हलो	छोडो	सुटां	कर	देख
	3	देखें	मारण	हलनि	छोडे	सुटत	करन्ति	देखेन
IMPERATIVE.	S. 1	देखूं				सुटूं	करें	देखि
	2	देखु	मार	हलु	छोड	सुट	करु	देखु
	3	देखे				सुटो	करु	देखुक
	Pl. 1	देखें				सुटूं	करुं	देखि
	2	देखो	मारो	हलो	छोडो	सुटा	कर	देख
	3	देखें				सुटोत	करुन्तु	देखुन
FUTURE.		OLD HINDI.	EAST-RAJP.					
	S. 1	देखिहौं	मारस्यूं (०सूं)	*deest*	छोडीश (०एश)	*deest*	*deest*	*deest*
	2	देखिहै	मारसी	,,	छोडशे	,,	,,	,,
	3	देखिहै	मारसी	,,	छोडशे	,,	,,	,,
	Pl. 1	देखिहैं	मारस्यां	,,	छोडीशुं	,,	,,	,,
	2	देखिहौ	मारस्यो	,,	छोडशो	,,	,,	,,
	3	देखिहैं	मारसी	,,	छोडशे	,,	,,	,,

§ 38. The simple tenses in the Gipsy verb, as given by Paspati and Miklosich, differ very widely from the Indian type, and it is difficult to grasp their forms, so much have contraction and a slurring habit of pronunciation weakened the original terminations. The present among the Rumelian gipsies has the following endings: S. 1. *a*, 2. *sa*, *s*, 3. *l*; Pl. 1. *sa*, *s*, 2. *na*, *n*, 3. *na*, *n*. Thus from *keráva* "to do"—

Sing. 1. keráva, or keráv.	Pl. 1. kerása, or kerás.
2. kerása „ kerás.	2. keréna „ kerén.
3. keréla „ kerel.	3. kerena „ kerén.

Of the two forms, those ending with *a* are the fuller and more correct forms, and those ending in the consonant which precedes the *a* are used in ordinary conversation. The S. 2 sounds also keresa, kerés. Here we distinguish two junction-vowels *á* and *e*, as ker-á-sa, ker-é-sa, a peculiarity which recalls the practice in Prakrit by which the *e* originally proper to the tenth conjugation is often used in verbs of the Bhû and other types, and as often omitted in causals; so we have पुक्कामि and पुक्केमि, रोचामि and रोचेमि, हारइ and हारेइ, करइ and करेइ. But with regard to the terminations, there is much difficulty; we recognize, indeed, the termination *ámi* of S. 1. in Paspati's *áva*, or *áv*, and *asi* in his *ása*, or *ás*. So also *anti*, Pr. *enti*, reappears in *ena* or *en*. The *ela*, *el* of S. 3. may stand to *ati* in the same relation as the *ila* of O. and M. p.p.p. does to Skr. *ita*; but if so, it is a strange confirmation, and from an unexpected quarter, of what is as yet little more than an unsupported hypothesis. In the P. 2. the *ena*, *en* may have been borrowed from P. 3, for we have seen similar cases in the other languages, but the P. 1, with its ending in *s*, is entirely inexplicable.

The Syrian gipsies have retained a fuller form of the S. 1, as *jâmi* "I go," *ávami* "I come," *stâmi* "I am," and the following almost pure Prakrit words, *bihemi* "I fear," *chinemi* "I cut,"

dámi, demi "I give," *jánami, jánemi* "I know," *enemi* "I bring" (from आणी), *kinimi* "I buy" (क्री), and others (Miklos. ii. 4).

The imperative is the only other simple tense, it has the forms *ker* "do thou," *kerén*, do ye," *me kerel* "let him do," *me keren* "let them do." The meaning and origin of this prefix *me* is not explained by Paspati, and I am not aware of anything in the Indian languages with which it can be connected. It is probably a construction borrowed from modern Greek, or Turkish, or some of the languages spoken in or near Rumelia. The imperative is, in its general form, precisely analogous to the languages of our group, but there is nothing specially noteworthy about it.

CHAPTER III.

THE PARTICIPIAL TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 39. Definition of the Participial Tenses.—§ 40. The Participle Active.—§ 41. Tenses formed thereby—the Sindhi Future.—§ 42. Marathi Indicative and Conditional Present.—§ 43. Bengali and Oriya Conditional.—§ 44. Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati Present.—§ 45. The Past Participle Passive.—§ 46. Early Tadbhava Participles in Sindhi and Panjabi.—§ 47. The same in Gujarati and Marathi.—§ 48. The same in Old and New Hindi.—§ 49. Tenses formed from the Past Participle.—§ 50. The *PRAYOGAS*.—§ 51. The Future Participle Passive.—§ 52. Tenses formed from it in Sindhi, Gujarati, and Marathi.—§ 53. The Future in Oriya, Bengali, and Eastern Hindi.—§ 54. The Hindi and Panjabi Future.—§ 55. Marathi Future compared with that in Certain Hindi Dialects.—§ 56. Synopsis of the Participial Tenses in all Seven Languages.—§ 57. Participial Tenses in the Gipsy Verb.

§ 39. So widely has the modern verb diverged from its parent, that the simple tenses, in which there still remain traces of the ancient synthetic structure, are, as we have just seen, extremely few. Far more numerous in all the languages are those tenses which are formed by the aid of a participle derived directly from the Prakrit. These tenses may be divided into two classes, (1) consisting either of a participle alone, as in H. *chaltâ* "he moves," which is really "moving (he is)," or of a participle, to which are attached much-worn fragments of the old Sanskrit substantive verb, as in M. *hasatos* "thou laughest," which is really "laughing thou art," Pr. *hasanto 'si* (whether the remnant of the substantive verb still appear, or whether it have entirely dropped out, in either case the principle underlying the formation is the same, and words

like H. *chaltâ*, and M. *hasatos*, belong, therefore, to the same category): (2) consisting of a participle, to which is subjoined a substantive verb, the two words standing separate, but forming one phrase, as in H. *dekhtâ hai* "he sees," *i.e.* "he is seeing," M. *lihit âhe* "he is writing."

Between these two classes there is this fundamental difference, that in the former the traces of the substantive verb which do exist are still in the Prakrit stage of development, whereas in the latter the substantive verb, which is combined with the participle, is not in the Prakrit shape, but is a later form, evolved by the languages out of the Prakrit.

The first of these two classes I propose to call "participial tenses," and they will be treated of in this chapter; the second I shall call, following the example of the grammarians, "compound tenses," and shall reserve their discussion for another chapter.

The participle used in the formation of tenses may be traced back to the Prakrit equivalents of the following Sanskrit participles.

1. The present Active (Parasmai.), as in पचन् *m.*, पचन्ती *f.*, पचत् *n.*

2. The past Passive (with inserted इ), as in कृतस् *m.*, कृता *f.*, कृतं *n.* (Pr. करिओ etc.).

3. The future participle Passive or verbal adjective, as in दातव्यस् *m.*, °तव्या *f.*, °तव्यं *n.*

To these must be added certain much abraded forms of special past participles, which are used in a peculiar way in three of the languages, as will be shown hereafter, and it must be borne in mind that, especially in the case of the past participle passive (noted as p.p.p.), it is the Prakrit forms that are to be looked to, rather than those which occur in classical Sanskrit. The classical language does not prefer to insert the intermediate इ in the p.p.p., but the popular languages do prefer it to a very great extent, so much so, that it has almost

become the rule to insert it, and the cases where it is omitted may be classed as exceptions.

§ 40. The participle of the present active in Pali and the Prakrit takes the forms of the *a*-stem of nouns, and retains the nasal throughout; thus पचंतो *m.*, पचंती *f.*, पचंतं *n.* The variations introduced by the conjugational peculiarities of the Sanskrit verb are neglected, and all roots take this one form.

Sindhi reproduces this universal Prakrit form with softening of त into द, and declines it for gender and number thus (*hal* "go")—

Sing. हलंदो *m.*, हलंदी *f.* Pl. हलंदा *m.*, हलंदिऊं *f.*, "going."

In active verbs, with which must be reckoned causals, the characteristic *i* appears (§ 36), but here lengthened to *ī*, as (*bhar* "fill")—

Sing. भरींदो *m.*, भरींदी *f.* Pl. भरींदा *m.*, भरींदिऊं *f.* "filling."

There are some minor exceptions and contractions which may be learnt from the special grammar of the language, but the forms given above are the regular types.

Panjabi retains the nasal in verbs ending in vowels, as *já* "go," जांदा "going," *ho* "be," हुंदा "being," *seü* "serve," सेउंदा "serving." In some of the rustic dialects the nasal is retained also after stems ending in a consonant, thus I have heard मारंदा or मारेंदा "beating." In the classical dialect, however, the nasal is omitted after a consonant, as singular मारदा *m.*, मारदी *f.*; plural मारदे *m.*, मारदीआं *f.* Not unfrequently the द is dropped, and we hear जाना, हुना for जांदा, हुंदा.

Hindi has two sets of forms; one indeclinable originally ended in *ant*, and still exists in several rustic dialects with the termination *at*. Chand inserts or omits the nasal at pleasure, to suit his metre, as चरन तीन भज्जंत "*possessing* three feet"

(Pr. R. i. 61); श्रवन सुनत होइ भंग। "the ear *hearing*, it is broken" (*ib.* i. 159); रजंत "shining," सजंत "arraying," सुभंत "being beautiful," कटंत "being cut," etc. (*ib.* vi. 18), but बजत "playing (music)," चढत "mounting (a horse)" (xix. 3). Tulsi Das chiefly uses the latter form, as जात "going" (Râm. S.-k. 7); गुंजत "humming" (*ib.* 9); ध्यावत "meditating," पावत "finding," भावत "being pleased," गावत "singing" (all in Ay-k. 1); and this is also common in most mediæval poets, thus Bihari Lall धरत "placing" (Sat. 6), परत (पडत) "falling" (*ib.*), सोहत "being beautiful," लसत "appearing," चहियत "looking" (*ib.* 7, 9, etc.). Kabir जियत "living" (Râm. 30, 5); बंधत "being bound" (*ib.* 31, 3). It survives in all the dialects of the eastern Hindi area, in Oudh, Riwa, and Bhojpur, and even in the Gangetic Doab.

The other form ends in a vowel, and is in use in classical Hindi, as sing. मारता *m.*, मारती *f.*; pl. मारते *m.*, मारतीं *f.* "beating." In the Braj dialect it takes the forms मारतु *m.*, मारति *f.*; pl. मारत *m. f.* The Garhwali dialect preserves the older form, as मारन्तो, but has also, as have the Rajputana dialects, मारतो. Kellogg gives also a Kumaon form मारनू, which probably arises from मारन्तो, just as Panjabi जाना from जांदा.

It would seem that, to account for the co-existence of these two forms, one ending in a consonant, and the other in *á* (=o), we must have recourse to Hoernle's theory of the *ka-* affix, and derive करंत, करत from Pr. करन्तो, while we derive करंता, करता from a Pr. करंतको. The *ka-* theory, however, thus begins to assume rather formidable dimensions, and will, ere long, require a whole treatise to itself.

Gujarati has also two forms, one indeclinable ending in तां, as छोडतां "loosing," the other declinable, as sing. छाडतो *m.*, ती *f.*, तुं *n.*; pl. छोडता *m.*, ती *f.*, तां *n.* The terminations are those of the adjective in this language (Vol. II. p. 150). There is also a form of the indeclinable participle in ते, as छोडते, which,

like the Bangali, is apparently the locative singular, while that in तां has the ending of the old nom, pl. neuter, though, in sense, it approaches more to the locative, as मारा बंधनें छोडतां तुरा दांत भागा "If *in loosing* my bonds thy teeth should break."[1] Vans Taylor, however, distinguishes two separate words with this ending, one of which he would derive from the locative singular of Sanskrit feminines, as गंगायाम्, the other he would derive from the Skr. infin., as कर्तुं. The first form he assumes to have been the origin of such phrases as मारे आवतां "on my coming," the second, of such as करतां शिखवेछे "he teaches to do." This, however, is very doubtful.[2]

Two forms are also observable in Marathi, or rather two sets of forms. The indeclinable ends in त्, तां, and तांना, as सुटत्, सुटतां, सुटतांना. The first of these agrees with Hindi, the second with Gujarati, and the third is merely the second with an enclitic particle ना added for emphasis. In active verbs the characteristic *i* appears, as सोडीत, सोडीतां, सोडीतांना "loosing." There is also a declinable form, which, however, is not now used as a participle, but appears in the third person of the present tense, thus sing. सुटता *m.*, सुटती *f.*, सुटतें *n.*; pl. सुटते *m.*, सुटत्या *f.*, सुटतीं *n.*

Oriya has only one form for the present participle. It is indeclinable, ending in उ or ुं, as देखु, देखुं "seeing." Of these two forms, that with the nasal is the older, though now less used, and probably comes from the Pr. neuter in न्तं, though the intermediate steps are not easily traced.

Even in the earliest writings in Bengali there is no regular present participle, but a form derived from the locative of the Prakrit is in use. It ends in इते, as देखिते, and is now used as an infinitive, meaning "to see." Literally, it means "in seeing," and is used in this sense by Bidyâpati, and the older poets. Thus केश निङ्गाडिते बहे जल धारा। "*In wringing* (*or*

[1] Leckey, Grammar, p. 179. [2] Grammar, p. 113.

from wringing) her hair there flows a stream of water" (Pr. K.-S. 13, 15); हेराइते हृदये हानल पांचवान। "*On seeing* (her), love smote him in the heart" (*ib.* 15, 7). Even here, however, it becomes almost an infinitive, as जाइते पेखनु नाहर गोरी। "I saw the fair one *go* to bathe (*i.e. in going*, or *while going*)" (*ib.* 13, 13); कानु हेराइते एवे भेल परमाद। "*In seeing* (or *to see*) Kánh, there has been now delight" (*ib.* 20, 10). So Bhârat शुनाइते शुनिते पाइब समाचार "*By causing to hear*, and *by hearing*, I shall obtain news" (Bidya S. 247).

§ 41. Having thus given the forms of the present participle, we next proceed to exhibit the tenses constructed therefrom, either with or without the addition of fragments of the old substantive verb, and it will be seen that there is great variety in the practice of the respective languages, though all the variations are sufficiently alike to justify their being classed generally as structurally present tenses. In some cases the sense of present time is more clear and definite than that afforded by the old present of the synthetic system, or, as we now call it, the aorist, while in others it has wandered away in different directions.

Sindhi,[1] to begin with, makes this participle into a future. In the third person of both numbers the participle is used without any addition, thus

Sing. हलंदो *m.*, हलंदी *f.* Pl. हलंदा *m.*, हलंदिऊं *f.* "he, she, etc., will go."

The second person, however, retains traces of the substantive verb अस् "to be," though much abraded and indistinct, it runs

Sing. हलंदें *m.*, हलंदिअं *f.* Pl. हलंदउ *m.*, हलंदिऊं *f.* "thou, ye, etc., will go."

The singular masculine ends in एं, just as does the corre-

[1] This section follows, for the most part, Trumpp, pp. 289, 291, etc.

sponding person of the aorist, and we may resolve it thus, *halando asi* = *haland' asi* = *haland' aĩ* = *halandẽ*. The anuswâra is here, probably, as in the aorist, put in to fill up the hiatus caused by loss of *s*, and first stood over the *a* of *aï*; when these two syllables were contracted into one, it took its place over that one. In the singular feminine we start from *halandî asi*, where the final long *î* of the participle is shortened, and *asi* = *aï* = *ẽ*, giving *halandĩẽ*, a form still in use, though Trumpp gives as the classical type the still further contracted *halandiã*. The plural masculine arises from *halandâ stha*, where *stha* has become *tha*, and then *ha*; the *h* being dropped, we get *halandâa* = *halando*, subsequently resolved into its present form *halandaũ*. The plural feminine is merely the feminine of the participle, there is no trace of the substantive verb.

In the same way may be explained the first person of both numbers.

Sing. हलंदुसि *m.*, हलंदिअसि *f.* Pl. हलंदासीं *m.*, हलंदिऊसीं *f.*

Here, again, we meet an instance of the curious change of स्म into स, which we observed in the Panjabi and Sindhi pronouns of the first person plural असीं and असा (Vol. II. p. 308). Thus *halando asmi* becomes *halando asi*, then *halandu 'si*, the final *o* being shortened to *u*. In the feminine, however, the elision of the *a* of *asmi* cannot take place by the old laws of Sandhi; instead, the *î* of the participle changes to its semivowel, producing *halandy asi*, which the Sindhians in the present day write either as above, or हलंद्यसि, or even हलंदियसि. As to the termination सीं of the plural, I am disposed to regard it as formed by analogy from a singular सि, rather than, with Trumpp, as a derivative of Skr. स्मः, which, if the म be rejected, would yield सो or सु, but not, according to any known processes, सीं.

§ 42. Closely analogous to the Sindhi future is the definite present in Marathi. In this tense, as in the S. future, the third

person preserves no trace of the substantive verb, and in this respect curiously resembles the periphrastic future of Sanskrit (*bodhitâsmi, bodhitâsi,* but *bodhitâ*).

The participial form which enters into the composition of this tense is, apparently, not used alone in a participial sense. करितो or करिता would always imply "he does," never "doing." For the purely participial sense the indeclinable participles given in the last section are used.

There is much more difficulty in tracing out the Marathi persons than those of Sindhi, not only because the remains of the substantive verb are more abraded, but because in the second and third persons there are two sets of terminations, one of which is used when the sense is that of the indicative present, the other when it is conditional.

Beginning with the third person, we have these forms (*sut* "escape"):

Indicative. Sing. सुटतो *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.* Pl. सुटतात *m., f., n.*, "he, she, etc., escapes."

Conditional. Sing. सुटता *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.* Pl. सुटते *m.*, त्या *f.*, तीं *n.*, "were he, etc., to escape."

Here the indicative strikes us at once as the older type; adjectives do not now in M. end in *o* in the masculine singular, though they did so in Maharashtri Prakrit; the *to* of the indicative therefore preserves the earlier form. So also in the plural there is but one form for all three persons which contains the verb *santi,* in Old-M. changed to *âti,* just as in the third plural of the aorist, but with disregard of the varying terminations for gender of the modern participle. The conditional, on the other hand, is simply the modern participle, with its full range of endings for number and gender.

The second person runs thus:

Indicative. Sing. सुटतोस *m.*, तीस *f.*, तेंस *n.* Pl. सुटतां *m., f., n.*

Conditional. Sing. सुटतास *m.*, तीस *f.*, तेंस *n.*, Pl. सुटतां *m., f., n.*

Again, in the indicative, the older ending in *o*, *suṭatos=suṭato 'si (asi)*; while in the conditional, *suṭatâs = suṭatâ asi*, with the modern ending in *â*. The plural, however, is the same in both, and agrees in termination with the aorist. The first person is the same in both indicative and conditional, and is—

Sing. सुटतों *m.*, तें *f.*, तों *n.* Pl. सुटतों *m. f. n.*

Final anuswâra here represents probably Pr. sing. *amhi*, pl. *amho*; but the *sandhi* is irregular, as *f. suṭatẽ=suṭati amhi*; the variant *suṭatyẽ*, used in the Konkan, is more regular for *suṭaty amhi*. The pl. *suṭatõ = suṭatâ amho*, where, again, the steps of transition to *suṭatõ* are difficult to work out.

§ 43. A similar use of the participle, in a conditional sense, occurs in Bengali and Oriya. In the former, the present tense is made up by using an auxiliary, and it will come under discussion in the next chapter, but the conditional has traces of the old Pr. form of the verb, and therefore belongs to this place. The tense is (*dekh* "see")—

Sing. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखितिस, 3. देखित. Pl. 1. देखिताम, 2. देखिता, 3. देखितेन.

The participle here has lost its terminations for gender, as the Bengali adjective has (Vol. II. p. 147): *dekhitâm* therefore *=dekhita asmi=dekhita amhi* in the sing., and *dekhita amhu* in the pl., lit. "seeing I am;" *dekhitis=dekhita asi*, where, on the analogy of the aorist, the *i* has crept into the penultimate (now ultimate) syllable; *dekhitâ* similarly *= dekhita stha*, whence *dekhita tha = dekhitaha = dekhitâ*. So, also, *dekhiten = dekhita (s)anti*, with the same treatment of the verb as in the aorist. The third singular is the simple participle.

In Oriya this tense runs thus:

Sing. 1. देखंति, 2. देखंतु, 3. देखंता. Pl. 1. देखंतु (तुं), 2. देखंत, 3. देखंते.

In this tense is preserved the older form of the participle Pr. *dekhanto*, O. *dekhantâ*, which, as usual, appears unchanged in the third sing., as also the pl. Pr. *dekhante* preserved in the 3 pl. The other persons exhibit only slight modifications of the terminations of the aorist, which are those of the Saûskrit present *asmi, asi*, etc.

In B. and O. this tense is used with জদি (যদি) "if," prefixed, "if I were to do," etc.; when used alone, it means "I might or should do," and in B. narrative it occasionally appears as an habitual past, "I used to do."

It should also be mentioned that just as the Bengali pandits have banished the old singular of the pronoun and declared it vulgar, so they have branded the singular number of all their tenses as low, and those grammarians who write under pandit influence gravely assure us that "the singular and plural are the same in Bengali verbs, and it is the nominative case before them which determines whether they are singular or plural" (Yates's Gr., ed. Wenger, p. 43). When they come to the real old singular, their agitation is extreme, they are too honest to leave it out, and too fastidious to put it in. So they preface it thus, "If a person speaks with the greatest humility of himself, or with the greatest contempt of another, he employs this form; but it is not found in good composition. We should have been happy to pass it over entirely; but to enable the student to understand what he will *but too often* hear (alas! yes, far too often, in the mouths of ninety-nine out of every hundred persons in Bengal), it seems necessary to give one example" (*ib.* p. 47).

The best Bengali poets had not discovered that these forms of their mother-tongue were low or vulgar down to the beginning of the present century. In a page opened at random in the Mahabarat of Kasiram Das occur রহিল "he remained," বলিলা "he said," জিজ্ঞাসিলা "he asked," দিয়াছে "he has given," হোইবে "he shall be." Kabi Kankan uses পড়িবি "thou

shalt fall," मरिलि "thou diedst," आछिनु "I was;" and Bharat Chandra, दिलि "thou hast done," पानु "I found," and innumerable other forms, which would be classed as vulgar by the purists of the present day.

§ 44. In the remaining languages, Hindi, Panjabi, and Gujarati, both forms of the present participle are used as an indefinite present tense, without any trace of the old substantive verb. The indeclinable form occurs constantly in Chand, thus कातिक करत पुष्कर सनान। गोक्रंन महातम सुनत कान॥ "In Kartik he *performs* ablutions at Puhkar, and *hears* with his ears the glories of Gokarn."—Pr. R. i. 198. The long list of words of this form in vi. 39, describing the fight at the darbâr, may be construed either as participles or present tenses. It is one of those scarcely translateable jingles of which Chand is so fond धुकंत धार धार सों। बकंत मार मार सों॥ झुकंत झार झार सों। तकंत सार तार सों॥ and so on for fifty lines. Perhaps the meaning may be thus roughly paraphrased—

They thrust with sword-edge biting,
They shout the shout of smiting;
They crouch from weapons sweeping,
They watch the steel blade leaping.

The meaning is clearer in other places. चलत पवन पावक समान। तपखत सुताप मन। सुकत सरोवर मचत कीच। तलफंत मीन तन॥ (Pr. R. lx. 17), "The wind *blows* like to fire, distressing the mind (as if with) penance, the tanks *dry up*, the mud *is stirred up*, the fishes' bodies *pant*." So in Bihari Lal, मकराकृत गोपाल के कुंडल सोहत कान। धर्यौ मनौ हिय घर समर ड्यौढी लसत निशान॥ "The dolphin-shaped earring *shines* (sohat) in the ear of Gopal, as the flag of love *appears* (lasat) at the threshold while he enters the heart" (Sat. vi.). He constantly uses the feminine Braj form in ति both as a participle and a present. कहति न देवर की कुवत कुलतिय कलह डराति॥ पंजर

गत मंजार ढिग शुक लौं सूखति जाति ॥ "The virtuous wife *does not repeat* the bad words of her husband's younger brother, *fearing* (ḍarâti) a quarrel, but *dries up* with fear, like a parrot when a cat approaches its cage" (Sat. xv.).

In classical Hindi both forms are used as a present tense, it is unnecessary to give instances, as the practice is universal. The same is the case in P., where मैं घल्दा "I send," is the ordinary indefinite present. सक्कर दो रोढी मुंडे कुढी दे मुऊं पाउंदे "They put a lump of sugar in the mouth of the boy and girl."[1]

Classical Hindi also uses this participle, with "if" prefixed as a past conditional; thus they say जदि मैं जानिता तो कबही नहीं जाता "Had I known, I never would have gone,"—a similar practice to that of O. and B. mentioned in the last section.

The declinable participle is used in G. as a past habitual, or as a subjunctive aorist, according to the grammarians, so that ऊं छोडतो means "I used to loose," or, "I should loose." In the former sense it is employed in the same way as the old present or aorist ऊं छोडुं. The example given is तमे बराबर भाग राखता (pl. masc.) नहीं "you used not to keep a fair share."[2] Most commonly, however, it is used with an auxiliary verb in a variety of meanings, this language being very fertile in the production of compound tenses.

§ 45. The passive past participle in Sanskrit has many forms; the simplest, though least widely used, in the classical language, is, however, that in *ita* (*itas, itâ, itam*), as पतित "fallen." The त of the affix, as would be expected, becomes in the higher Prakrits द, and in the more common dialects falls out altogether; thus we have हालिदं = हारितं "lost," मुसिदो = मूषितः "robbed," गहिदं = गृहीतं "taken," and many others.

But Var. vii. 32 admits even in Maharashtri the form from

[1] "Panjab Customs," in Appendix to Panjabi Grammar, Loodhiana, p. 91.
[2] Leckey, Grammar, p. 160.

which the द् has entirely dropped, and instances हसिअं for हसितं "laughed," पढिअं for पठितं "recited," and this form has become the type of most modern languages. In Old-Hindi this participle regularly ends in sing. यौ *m.*, ई *f.*, pl. ए *m.*, ईं *f.*, as जळ्यौ *m.*, जली *f.*, etc., "burnt." Here the य represents the द् of the Prakrit, hardened into a semivowel before the final vowel. In the feminine it is merged in the ई of the affix, and in the plural lost altogether, for जळे easily passes into जले.

Chand uses this form throughout, as तन रह्यौ जोति गय देव थान। "his body *remained* bright, he *went* to the abode of the gods" (i. 299); कर्यौं "done," गयौ "gone," etc. It is, however, more frequently used as a tense than as a participle, and further illustrations will be given in a following section.

The form in यौ lasts all through the mediæval poets, and is still in use in the dialects of Rajputana and in Braj. In the former a slight change has occurred, sing. मार्यौ, pl. मार्या, while in Kumaon the form is sing. मारियो, pl. मारिया.

Modern classical Hindi has sing. मारा *m.*, मारी *f.*; pl. मारे *m.*, मारीं *f.*, "struck."

Panjabi retains the द् of the Prakrit, and has sing. मारिआ *m.*, मारी *f.*; pl. मारे *m.*, मारीआं *f.*, "struck;" so also does Sindhi, sing. हलिओ or हल्यो *m.*, हली *f.*; pl. हल्या *m.*, हलिऊं *f.* Trumpp seems to be here in error in saying that the य has been inserted to fill the hiatus caused by the elision of the द्. It is rather the द् of द्दो hardened to a semivowel, as in Old-H. and P.

Oriya has rejected the final syllable, just as it has in its present participle, and has an indeclinable past participle in *i*, as *dekhi*. This is never used alone, but only in composition, with an auxiliary forming a tense. The past participle used to form the passive ends in *á*, like H., as *dekhá jibá* "to be seen."

The same form is found in Gujarati, as sing. छोड्यो (chhoḍyo) *m.*, छोडी *f.*, छोड्युं (chhoḍyũ) *n.*; pl. छोड्या *m.*, छोडी *f.*, छोड्यां *n.*

G., however, in common with M. B. and O., has another

form of this participle ending in an affix, whose special type is ल. The forms may be brought together for comparison—

G. Sing.	छोडेलो *m.*,	छोडेली *f.*,	छोडेलुं *n.*
M. (neuter) Sing.	सुटला *m.*,	सुटली *f.*,	सुटलें *n.*
„ (active) „	सोडिला *m.*,	सोडिली *f.*,	सोडिलें *n.*
G. Pl.	छोडेला *m.*,	छोडेली *f.*,	छोडेलां *n.*
M. (neuter) Pl.	सुटले *m.*,	सुटल्या *f.*,	सुटलीं *n.*
„ (active) „	सोडिले *m.*,	सोडिल्या *f.*,	सोडिलीं *n.*

B. देखिल, in Old-B. देखिला (only used as a tense combined with *as*), देखिले "having seen."

O. देखिल (the same), देखिले *id.*

The Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi has also an indeclinable past participle मारल, in some districts also मारिला, from which it forms a tense.

Here the junction vowel varies much. In B. O. and the active of M. it is द्. In G., on the other hand, it is ए, while in the neuter of M. it is *a*. M. has a long string of verbs, both active and neuter, with the junction vowel *â*; some of these are causals by origin, as पळ "flee," p.p. पळाला, for *paḷâ-ilâ* (as in B. and O. पलाइल). Others, again, owe the long vowel to a Skr. *ay*, as उड "fly," p.p. उडाला, Skr. उड्डयित √उद्+डी. Others are denominatives, as दीप "be dazzled," दीपाला, Skr. दीपयित; there are, however, some which I am not able to explain on any of the above grounds. The list comprises about thirty verbs only, and in twenty-five of them participles, with the junction vowel *a*, are also in use.

The usual explanation of this form in *l* is that it is derived from the Skr. p.p.p. in *ita*, through Pr. *ido*, by change of द् to ड, and thence to ल. The change is undoubtedly possible as far as ड and ल are concerned, or as far as त and द् are concerned; but the change from द् to ड is a great stumbling-block. The great authority of Lassen (p. 363) is usually quoted in

support of this view, but even he cannot avoid being struck by the coincidence between this and the Slavonic preterites in *l*.

As regards the change from द् to ड, it is observable that it only occurs in those Skr. preterites which contain a cerebral. Thus छत becomes in Magadhi कडे (Mṛ. 270). Here, however, there was evidently a form कर्त = कट = कड, so that there is no question of a द् at all. So also in वावड for व्यापृत = व्यापर्त = °पट = °पड (Mṛ. 227). The only other instance known to me is गडे for गत (Mṛ. 276), but here we may fairly assume a false analogy with कडे = छत. So widespread a form as the modern participle in *l* must rest upon some firmer proof than the rare examples given above.

I am disposed to think that we have in this participle the survival of an ancient form which has not been preserved in classical Sanskrit, nor in the written Prakrits. Perhaps (but here I tread on ground somewhat beyond my own domain) that type of the passive past in Skr. which ends in न or ण may be the classical representative of this ancient form; thus we have from √लू "cut," लूनः, from √भिद् "cleave," भिन्नः, and in some roots both forms, that in त and that in न, stand side by side, thus √पॄ "fill," makes पूर्णः and पूर्तः, √नुद् "push," नुन्नः and नुत्तः.

Even in the Slavonic languages, however, the characteristic *l* of the preterite is thought to have arisen from an original *d*, and that again from *t*.[1] If this be so, we have here an ancient change which took place before the separation of the various members of the Indo-European family, and not a mere local corruption confined to Indian ground. In Russian the preterite is a participle with forms for gender, thus from *délat'* "to make," pret. sing. diclal' *m.*, dielala *f.* dielalo *n.*, pl. dielali *mfn.*[2] In Servian the same form occurs, *trés* "to shake," has—

Sing. trésao *m.*, trésla *f.*, tréslo *n.*
Pl. trésli *m.*, trésle *f.*, trésla *n.*

[1] Rapp, Verbal-organismus, vol. i. p. 99.
[2] Reiff, Russ. Grammar, p. 97; Rapp, vol. i. 137.

Compare Marathi—

Sing.	trâsalâ,	trâsalî,	trâsalê.
Pl.	trâsalc,	trâsalyâ,	trâsalī

from त्रासणें "to trouble." The similarity is striking, and seems to be more than a mere accidental coincidence. Moreover, the connection between this Slavonic *l* and *n* is shown in more than one instance. Thus, the Russian verb has from *nes* "to drag" a pret. past sing. nesén *m.*, neséna *f.*, neseno *n.*, pl. neseny. The same form occurs in the Czech.

But we are getting beyond bounds. The comparison is attractive, and, if there were time to study the Slavonic languages as well as the Indian, might perhaps be worked out to some conclusive result. All that can be said at present is that two groups of the same family have a preterite in *l*, and that there may be some connection between the two; while, on the other hand, the derivation of this preterite from a past participle in *t* seems strained and ill-supported as regards the Indian group, and if true for the Slavonic group, must have occurred a long while ago, before the separation of the families, and has strangely failed to leave any traces of itself in the most important language of the Indian group in its most cultivated stage.

§ 46. Let us turn to matters more within our scope. The passive past participle is the only part of the modern verb which affords an exception to the general rule of the unchangeableness of the stem-syllable. Each one of the modern languages has a few such participles, which, being derived from the Prakrit developments of the Skr. p.p.p., differ from their respective verbal stems, which latter are derived generally from the form of the root used in the present tense. These early Tadbhava participles, as they may justly be called, are most numerous in Sindhi. Trumpp gives (p. 273) a list of no

less than 140 of them, a number which far exceeds that to be found in any other of the languages. They owe their existence chiefly to the omission in Skr. of the intermediate इ, so that the affix त of the p.p.p. is added directly to the root, and when this root ends in a consonant, there arises a strong or mixed nexus, which in Prakrit has to be dealt with according to the ordinary phonetic laws. Sometimes, as we saw in § 14, the stem of the verb itself is entirely borrowed from the p.p.p., and in that case the modern participle does not differ from the rest of the verb; but when the ordinary stem is derived from the older present, and only the participle from the old p.p.p., the two differ so much that it is difficult at first sight to recognize the connection between them.

The verbs given in § 19 have mostly old Tadbhava participles, and it is through these participles that the clue is found to the derivation of the verb. Thus—

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
बज्झ "be bound"	√बंध्	बज्झो (quasi	बंधित	बंधो).
बंध "bind"		बधो	बद्ध	
बुज्झ "be heard"	√बुध्	बुधो	बुद्ध	
बुंध "hear"				
रज्झ "be cooked"	√रंध्	रधो	रद्ध	
रंध "cook"				
लह "get"	√लभ्	लधो	लब्ध	लद्धो
लभ "be got"				
दुज्झ "be milked"	√दुह्	दुधो	दुग्ध	दुद्धो
दुह "milk"				
दुह "torment"	√दह्	दुधो	दग्ध	दद्धो
भज्ज "be broken"	√भञ्ज्	भग्गो	भग्न	भग्गो
भज्ज "break"				
भुज्ज "be fried"	√भ्रज्ज्	भुग्गो	भृष्ट	भुट्ठ (analogy of भज्ज)
भुज्ज "fry"				

STEM.	SKR.	P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
छिज् "be broken" / छिन "break"	√छिद्	छिन्नो	छिन्न	
सुज्झ् "be heard" / सुण "hear"	√श्रु	सुओ / सुणिओ	श्रुत	(regular modern form)
खण "raise"	√स्कंद्	खंयो	स्कन्न	खणिओ
कुह "kill" / कुस "be killed"	√कुष्	कुठो	कुष्ट	कुट्ठो
गह "rub" / गस "be rubbed"	√घृष्	गठो	घृष्ट	गिट्ठो, गट्ठो
कुह "touch" / कुप "be touched"	√कुंप्	कुतो	कुप्त	कुत्तो

The exact coincidence of these participles with the Sanskrit and Prakrit confirms the derivation of the verbal stems given in § 19. There are many others equally instructive as retaining the Prakrit form; thus, for instance, we can explain the following:

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
लिंब "smear,"	√लिप्	लितो	लिप्त	लित्तो
तप "warm,"	√तप्	ततो	तप्त	तत्तो
सुम्ह "sleep,"	√स्वप्	सुतो	सुप्त	सुत्तो
पा "get,"	√प्राप्	पातो	प्राप्त	पात्तो [?]
आण "bring,"	√आनी	आंदो	आनीत	
रु "weep,"	√रुद्	रुनो	रुदित	रुण्णो

So also the origin of उघण "wipe out," is obscure, till we look at the p.p.p. उघठो, which leads to Skr. उद्घृष्ट, and then we see that *ughaṇu* is for *ugahaṇu*=*udgharshaṇam*. The participles in *tho* similarly explain themselves, as

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
डिस "see,"	√दृश्	डिठो	दृष्ट	दिट्ठो
वस "rain,"	√वृष्	वठो, वुठो, उठो	वृष्ट	वुट्ठो

S.	SKR.	S. P.P.P.	SKR.	PR.
पिह, पेह "enter,"	√प्रविश्	पेठो	प्रविष्ट	पइट्ठो (H. पैठ)
विह् "sit,"	√उपविश्	वेठो	उपविष्ट	उवइट्ठो (H. बैठ)
पीस "grind,"	√पिष्	पीठो	पिष्ट	पिट्ठो
तुस "be pleased,"	√तुष्	तुठो	तुष्ट	तुट्ठो

The next three words have old Tadbhava participles in almost all the languages of this group:

डिअण् "give," p.p.p. डिनो, Pr. दिण्णो.

करण् "do," ,, कीतो, किओ, कयो, Skr. कृत, Pr. किओ, *see* under II.

मरण् "die," ,, मो, मुओ, Skr. मृत, Pr. मुओ.

Another class is composed of denominatives or neuter verbs with the causal type *âm* (§ 28). These are

Infin.	उभामण् "to boil over,"	p.p.p	उभाणो
,,	उज्झामण् "to be extinguished,"	,,	उज्झाणो
,,	उड्डामण् "to fly,"	,,	उडाणो
,,	झपामण् "to decrease,"	,,	झपाणो
,,	खामण् "to be burnt,"	,,	खाणो
,,	विसामण् "to be extinguished,"	,,	विसाणो
,,	विकामण् "to be sold,"	,,	विकाणो

There is, as already mentioned, considerable obscurity as to the derivation of these words: *uḍâmaṇu* is, however, certainly from Skr. *uḍ-ḍî*, p.p.p. *ḍîna; ujhâmaṇu* perhaps from Skr. *ut-kshi*, p.p.p. *kshîṇa; vikâmaṇu* from Skr. *vikrî*, p.p.p., however, not *krîṇa*, but *krîta*. On the analogy of those verbs whose p.p.p. ended in *na*, may have been formed the modified p.p. in *no* for all verbs of the class, regardless of the fact that in the classical language the causal p.p. would end in *âpita*, e.g. *sthâpita*. In

Hindi, also, stems ending in *á* take this p.p. in *no* in the poets as फिरा, p.p. फिरानो, or apocopated *n*, as रिसा p.p. रिसान.

The above remarks explain nearly half the words in Trumpp's list, for the rest the uncertainty is too great to admit of satisfactory explanation. Trumpp, for instance, would derive द्राइणु "to satisfy," and द्रापणु "to be satisfied," from Skr. √तृप, तर्पति, but the p.p.p. द्राओ can hardly represent तृप्त. Others again there are whose p.p. is intelligible, while the infinitive is not. जुतो "engaged" (in work) explains itself by Skr. युक्त, Pr. जुत्तो, clearly enough, but its infinitive should be *jujaṇu* or *junjaṇu* (Pa. युंजति). Whence then cŏmes it that the infinitive is *jumbaṇu*? So also *rudho* "busily employed" is clearly Skr. रुद्ध (रुध्), one form of the infinitive *rujhaṇu* is regularly derived from Skr. रुध्यते, but what are we to say to another form *rumbhaṇu* or *rubhaṇu*?

Panjabi has several of the same early Tadbhava participles as Sindhi, and a few of its own. The total number, however, is much smaller than in Sindhi. The commonest are

	P.P.	SKR.
करना "do,"	कीता	कृत (dialectically also कीद्).
जाणा "go,"	गिआ, गइआ	गत (also जाया = Skr. यात).
जाणना "know,"	जाता	ज्ञात.
देखणा "see,"	दिट्ठा	दृष्ट (also डिट्ठा *more Sindhico*).
देणा "give,"	दित्ता, दिया	दत्त.
लैणा "take,"	लीता, लिया	लब्धित, instead of classical लब्ध.
वरसणा "rain,"	वट्ठा	वृष्ट.
खाणा "eat,"	खाधा	खादित.
पैणा "fall,"	पिआ	पतित, Sindhi *id.* through पद्ओ.
बंन्हणा "bind,"	बद्धा	बद्ध.
पछाणना "recognize,"	पछाता	परिज्ञात? H. पहिचानना.
सिउणा "sew,"	सीता	सेवित.
सौणा "sleep,"	सुता	सुप्त.

	P.P.	SKR.
पहुंचणा "arrive,"	पहुतो, पुज्जो	?
रिन्हणा "cook,"	रिद्धा	रद्ध.
विअहणा "marry,"	विअहतो	विवाहित.
कहिणा "say,"	किहा	कथित.
रहिणा "remain,"	रिहा	रहित.

In the two last the इ has leapt over into the preceding syllable, and *kihâ*, *rihâ*, are for *kahiâ*, *rahiâ*, respectively. The above list nearly, if not quite, exhausts the early Tadbhava participles of Panjabi, and Hindi influence is already at work in favour of the ordinary type.

§ 47. Gujarati has, like Panjabi, a smaller number of these participles than Sindhi.

INFIN.		SKR.	PR.
करवुं "do"	कर्यो, कीधो	कृत	करिओ
लेवुं "take"	लीधो	लब्ध	
पोहोचवुं "arrive"	पोहोंच्यो, पोहोतो	?	
देखवुं "see"	दिठो, दीठो	दृष्ट	
बीहोवुं "fear"	बीहीनो, बीहीधो	भीत	बिहिदो (§ 13)
खावुं "eat"	खाधो	खादित	
उपजवुं "produce"	उपनो °न्यो	उत्पन्न (present *utpadyate*)	
नीपजवुं „	नीपनो °न्यो	निष्पन्न (pres. *nishpadyate*)	
पीवुं "drink"	पीधो	पीत	
सुवुं "sleep"	सुतो	सुप्त	
मरवुं "die"	मुओ	मृत	
देवुं "give"	दीधो	दत्त	
बेशवुं "sit"	बेठो	उपविष्ट	
पेशवुं "enter"	पेठो	प्रविष्ट	
नासवुं "flee"	नाठो	नष्ट (present *naśyati*)	
जवुं "go"	गओ	गत	

In the instances of *kîdho, bîhîdho, khâdho, pîdho,* and *dîdho,* we have probably formations based on the analogy of *lîdho,* for the exception of *bîhîdho,* which may owe its *dh* to a combination of the *h* and *d* of Pr. *vihido,* there is no older form which would yield *dh.* The origin of these forms will be more fully inquired into under Hindi, where they are well illustrated.

So far does the original meaning of these participles appear to have been obscured, that from them a participle ending in *elo* is also formed, and they say *kîdhelo, dîṭhelo,* and the like, where the participial element occurs twice. The ordinary verb having two forms of participle, one in *yo,* the other in *elo,* the verbs in the above list were bound to have them also, and instead of adding *elo* to the stem, and making *karelo, lîelo,* it has been added to the already formed early Tadbhava participle.

There appears to be a slight difference in meaning between the two forms of the Gujarati past participle, that in *elo* being somewhat more emphatic than that in *yo.* Thus હું આવ્યો છું "I am come," but હું આવેલો છું "I *am* come," (emphatically).

Marathi has early Tadbhava participles, and it has others, which are accounted irregular by the grammarians from other causes. The former are not numerous, and are chiefly found in the same stems as in the other languages. Thus we have—

जा "go,"	p.p.p.	गेला
ये "come,"	„	आला
मर "die,"	„	मेला
ले "take" (wear),	„	ल्याला
कर "do,"	„	केला

Stems ending in ण exhibit ट in the participle, as

खण "dig,"	p.p.p.	खटला
म्हण "speak,"	„	म्हटला
हाण "slay,"	„	हाटला

The explanation of these words is apparently to be found in a contraction of syllables; thus Skr. √ खन् "dig" forms regularly p.p.p. खात, but the न being changed to ण in Prakrit, a p.p.p. खणित would be legitimately formed, whence खण्ट, to which, forgetful of the fact that this is already a participle, M. adds its own participial termination ला, and by rejection of the nasal arrives at खटला. So also √भण्, p.p.p. भणित, whence भण्ट and म्हट + ला. Skr. हन् has p.p.p. हत, but a Pr. form हणित would be, and is, used, whence हण्ट, and the stem-vowel having been lengthened, हाट + ला.

To a similar retention of the त of the Skr. p.p.p. may be attributed the following, though the etymology is in some cases very obscure:

घे "take,"	घेतला "taken."
धू "washed,"	धुतला "washed."
बघ "see,"	बघितला "seen."
माग "ask,"	मागितला "asked."
सांग "tell,"	सांगितला "told."
घाल "put,"	घातला "put."
खा "eat,"	खाल्ला "eaten."

In § 15 it was shown that Pr. inserts त्त in forms like *ghettum*, *ghettûna*, which may be a retention of त in *grihîta*. In the next four words on the list there seems to be a double participle, as in G. *kidhelo*, etc. The origin of घाल् is unknown to me, it looks like an early causal of घे take. In खा the p.p. is apparently a contraction of खादिला, Skr. खादित.

§ 48. Hindi has very few of these participles. In the classical language only the following are in use:

करना "do,"	किया "done."
मरना "die,"	मुआ "dead."
लेना "take,"	लिया "taken."
देना "give,"	दिया "given."
जाना "go,"	गया "gone."

All the other verbs in the language form this participle from the common stem used in all the other tenses, though in the mediæval poets some of the old Tadbhava participles are found, as *diṭṭhau* "seen," *tuṭṭhau* "pleased," (*tushṭa*) in Chand. The three verbs *kar*, *le*, and *de*, however, have several peculiar forms in Old-H., and in the mediæval poets, which are still heard in some of the rustic dialects. There are three parallel forms:

कर has i. कीयौ or कियौ. ii. कीनौ or किन्नौ. iii. कीधौ or किद्धौ.
दे „ i. दीयौ or दियौ. ii. दीनौ or दिन्नौ. iii. दीधौ or दिद्धौ.
ले „ i. लीयौ or लियौ. ii. लीनौ or लिन्नौ. iii. लीधौ or लिद्धौ.

The curious thing about these three verbs is that every two of them have borrowed a form peculiar to the third. For *kiyau* is properly the participle of *kar*, Skr. कृत, Pr. किदो and कियो. It has been borrowed by *le* and *de*. So *dinau* belongs to *de*, Skr. दत्त, Pa. and Pr. दिण्णो, and has been borrowed by *kar* and *le*. Also *lidhau* belongs to *le*, Skr. लब्ध, Pa. and Pr. लद्धो, and has been borrowed by *kar* and *de*. We cannot get *kinau* or *kidhau* phonetically from √ कृ, nor *diyau* and *didhau* from √ दा, nor *liyau* and *linau* from √ लभ्, without forcing etymology. These three verbs are so constantly used together, and fall in so conveniently for rhymes in the poets, that it is not surprising that, in the general decay and confusion of forms out of which the modern languages sprung, they should have borrowed from one another. To begin with

our oldest author, Chand, कियौ, लियौ, and दियौ, all occur frequently, with the first vowel both long and short, and the final vowel occasionally cut off if it happens to be in the way of the metre. कन्या कियौ क्रंदोह ॥ "The girl *made* lamentation" (Pr. R. i. 171). It is long in

कीयौ तब चित चिहौं दिस ॥

"He then *made* reflection on all sides."—xx. 20.

कीयौ चलन कौ साज ॥

"He *made* preparation for going."—xx. 28.

Apocopated, as दीय and कीय in

गढ पतिक गढ भार दीय ॥
पूरव दिस तन गमन कीय ॥

"He *entrusted* the fort to the castellan,
Made a going to the eastern country."—xx. 29.

लीये सब बोलि वंव वज्जिय ॥

"*Took* all shouting and playing on drums."—*ib.*

A form with *a* occurs for *le* and *de* only, as लयौ विप्र गुर बोल ॥ "*Took* Brahmins and gurus, saying" (*ib.* 20), and दई जु कन्या वचन वर ॥ "When the maiden *gave* her troth to the bridegroom" (*ib.* 22).

Commonest by far is the second form with either long or short vowel, in the latter case generally with doubling of the following consonant, and very frequently with the last vowel apocopated. Of these types that with the double consonant is nearest to the Prakrit, and thus presumably the oldest, the rejection of one consonant and lengthening of the preceding vowel is a later feature. In Chand, however, there is no distinction between the two; so that one rhymes with the other, as in

गेर महल प्रिथिराज सषी सबका रम दिन्नव ॥
कुसम पटा सिर पाग लाग कंद्रप रस कीनव ॥

"In his private apartments Prithiraj dallied with his wives and attendants,
In saffron robes and turbaned head he made the sport of love."
—xxi. 22.

So also लूटि धरतो निधि लिन्नव "having plundered the land, he has taken treasure" (xxi. 89). In this passage the preceding line ends with किन्नव. (In Hindi *av* = *au*, so *kinnav* is to be read *kinnau*, etc.)

विहसित वरं लगन लिन्नौ नरिंद ॥

"Smiling the king accepted the espousal."—xx. 23.

सहस घट्ट सिव उपर कीनौ ॥
तीन उपास नेम तव लीनौ ॥

"He poured (gave) a thousand jars over Siva,
Then he took a vow to fast three (days)."—i. 189.

See also the quotation at p. 268 of Vol. II.

Instances of the apocopated form occur chiefly at the end of a line; as

दस कोस जाय मुक्काम कीन ॥
विच गांम नगर पुर लूट लीन ॥

"Having gone ten *kos* he made a halt,
Villages and towns between he plundered."—i. 208.

परिमाल जुद्ध पर हुकम दीन ॥

"Parimal gave the order for fighting."—xxi. 5.

The third form is more frequently found with *de*, to which it least of all belongs, and has an additional termination *iya* sometimes attached to it, as

दान मान घन दिद्धिय

"He gave gifts and honours abundant."—i. 342.

In this passage it rhymes with लद्धिय, which ought perhaps to be read लिद्धिय "having taken."

There is an instance of the natural change into the palatal in

सगरी नाव जाय बंध किज्जिय ॥
आल्हा उदल उतरन न दिज्जिय ॥

"Carts and boats he went and stopped;
Âlhâ and Udal he suffered not to alight."—xxi. 86.

for किद्दौ and दिद्दौ respectively. This latter occurs frequently, in a slightly altered shape—

बर दीधौ ढुंढा नरिद ॥

"Dhundhâ gave a blessing to the king."—i. 305.

प्रिथिराज ताहि दो देस दिद्द ॥

"Prithirâj gave him two provinces."—*ib.* 307.

All three types may be found repeatedly throughout the poem. In later times, as in Tulsi Das and in Braj poetry generally, these verbs take the forms लीन्हौ, कीन्हौ, and दीन्हौ, and the last syllable is occasionally apocopated as in Chand. Thus Tulsi Das—

एहि विधि दाह किया सब कीन्ही ॥
विधिवत न्हाइ तिलांजुलि दीन्ही ॥

"In this way he performed all the ceremony of cremation,
Having duly bathed, he presented the offering of sesamum."
—Ay-k. 894.

मोहि उपदेस दीन्ह गुर नीका ॥

"The *guru* hath given me good advice."—*ib.* 928.

तौ कत लीन्ह संग कटकाइ ॥

"Then why has he taken an army with him?"—*ib.* 982.

The above examples may suffice for these special types, which have no analogy with other preterites in H. Oriya and Bengali have few such forms, for O. मला and कला are merely contractions of मरिला and करिला, from मर "die," and कर "do," respectively. From जा "go," O. गला, B. गेल, is about the only real old Tadbhava in those two languages.

§ 49. The participial tenses formed from the past participle are analogous to those from the present. In ordinary Hindi the participle itself is used as a past tense, without any relic of the substantive verb; it will have been noticed that in all the passages quoted in the last section, the participle must be translated as a preterite, and this is the case in the modern language,

both for active and neuter verbs, as *bolâ* "he said," *kiyâ* "he did." In the mediæval poets, however, and to this day in the rustic dialects of Oudh and the eastern Hindi area, there exists a preterite with terminations retaining traces of the incorporation of the old substantive verb. Before these terminations the long *â* and *î* of the p.p. masculine and feminine are shortened, and the vowel of the masculine is often replaced by *e*. Thus we have (*mâr* "strike")—

SING.	1.	2.	3.	PL.	1.	2.	3.
m.	मारउं	मारउ	मारउ		मारेन्हि	मारेऊ	मारेन्हि
f.	मारिउं	मारिउ	मारिउ		मारिन्हि	मारिऊ	मारिन्हि

Also in *m.* मारेउं, etc. In the sing. 2, 3, the syllable सि is often added, as मारेसि, and variated into हि, as मारेहि *m.*, मारिसि, मारिहि *f.* Thus चलेउ हरषि हिय धरि रघुनाथा "he went rejoicing, holding in his heart Raghunâtha" (Tulsi Das, Ram. Sund-k. 4), देखेउं नयन राम कर दूता "I have seen with my eyes the messenger of Ram" (*ib.* 12). Tulsi does not observe the gender very closely, if at all,—पुनि परीहरेउ सुखाने उ पर्णा ॥ "Again *she gave up* even dry leaves" (Bal-k. 155), पूछेसि लोगन काह उछाह ॥ "She asked the people, why is this rejoicing?" (Ay-k. 87). But the feminine is kept in प्रियवादिनि सिष दीन्हिउ तोहि ॥ "The flatteress has given instruction to (has prompted) thee" (Ay-k. 101). The type ending in *si*, though used for both 2 and 3 sing., more strictly belongs, I think, to 2 sing. from Skr. *asi*; but in this tense the traces of the substantive verb are so much abraded that it is difficult to speak with certainty about them. The following handful of instances, taken at hazard from one page of the Sundara-kânḍa of Tulsi's work, will show the various senses in which this affix is used: खाएसि फल अरु बिटप उपारे "He *eats* the fruit, and tears up the bushes" (S-k. 40), कछु मारेसि कछु मर्देसि कछुक मिलायेसि धुरी ॥ "Some he *slew*, some he *trampled* under foot, some he caused to mix with the dust," कह लंकेश कवन तैं

कीसा । केहि के बल घालेसि बन खीसा । कीधौ श्रवण सुनेसि नहिं मोहि । . . . . मारेसि निशिचर केहि श्रयराधा । "Saith the lord of Lanka, who art thou, and what? By whose strength *hast thou torn* to pieces the forest, *hast thou* never *heard* of my fame, . . . for what fault *hast thou killed* the demons?" (*ib.*) Panjabi throws no light on the subject, as it does not use this form, but employs the participle simply as a tense, as *maĩ, tû, uh mâriâ*, "I, thou, he, smote." Indeed, to such an extent in H. and P. has this custom of using the bare participle as a preterite tense prevailed, that it cannot now be used in any other sense, and if we wish to say "smitten," we must not use H. *mârâ* or P. *mâriâ* alone, but must add the participle of the modern substantive verb, and say H. *mârâ hûâ*, P. *mâriâ hoĩâ*. The only trace in P. of the old substantive verb is to be found in a dialectic form which I have often heard, though it does not seem to be used in writing, as कीतोस "he did," which is probably to be referred to S. कृतोऽस्ति. The grammarians, however, suppose that *kîtos* is in some way a metathesis of *us ne kîta*, so that *kitâ*+*us*=*kitos*. The instrumental, however, of *uh* "he," is not *us ne*, but *un*; *us ne* is Hindi, and would hardly have been resorted to in the formation of a pure dialectic type like this. Moreover, in the 1 plural we have such expressions as खांदसां, which is evidently *khânde*+*'sã*, for *asâ*=*asmaḥ*.

Different from modern, but strikingly similar to mediæval, Hindi in this respect is Sindhi, which does not employ the participle singly as a preterite, but, except in the 3 sing. and pl., has relics of the substantive verb incorporated with it, thus (*hal* "go")—

SING.	1.	2.	3.	PL.	1.	2.	3.
m.	हलिउसि	हलिएं	हलिश्रो		हलिश्रासीं	हलिश्रउ	हलिश्रा
f.	हलिश्रसि	हलिश्रं	हली		हलिऊंसीं	हलिऊं	हलिऊं

By comparing these terminations with those of the S. future,

which is based upon the present participle (§ 41), it will be seen that they are absolutely identical, thus:

halandu -si	corresponds to	haliu -si.
halandia -si	,,	halia -si.
halandâ -sĩ	,,	haliâ -sĩ.
halandiû -sĩ	,,	haliũ -sĩ.
etc.		etc.

and the terminations may, in the case of the preterite, therefore, as well as in that of the future, be referred to the old Skr. verb *as* in various degrees of decay.

Marathi exhibits the same analogy between the present and the preterite; to its p.p. in ला *m.*, ली *f.*, लें *n.*, etc., it adds the same terminations as to the present p. in ता *m.*, ती *f.*, तें *n.*, etc. Thus

Sing.	1.	सुटलों *m.*,	सुटलें *f.*,	सुटलों *n.*
	2.	सुटलास *m.*,	°लीस *f.*,	°लेंस *n.*
	3.	सुटला *m.*,	°ली *f.*,	°लें *n.*
Pl.	1.	सुटलों *m. f. n.*		
	2.	सुटलां *id.*		
	3.	सुटले *m.*	°ल्या *f.*	°लीं *n.*

The forms exactly agree with those of the present, as will be seen by turning to § 42. There is no conditional as in the present. When it desires to use this form in an adjectival sense, M., having apparently forgotten its originally participial nature, adds another एला, thus we get मेलेलें जनावर "a dead animal," केलेला पुरुष "a made (*i.e.* experienced) man." The fact so well established for S. and M. may help us to understand, if we cannot fully explain, the preterites of O. and B., which are formed in the same way. From a p.p. देखिल, O. constructs a preterite, thus—

Sing.	1. देखिलि	2. देखिलु	3. देखिला,
Pl.	1. देखिलुं	2. देखिल	3. देखिले,

where the terminations correspond exactly with those of the conditional, which is similarly formed from the present participle.

Bengali does the same (*pace* the Pandits), as—

Sing.	1. देखिनु	2. देखिलि	3. देखिल.
Pl.	1. देखिलाम	2. देखिला	3. देखिलेन.

Here the 3 sing. has also देखिलेक् with a final क, as in the imperative and future, concerning which see § 53. The 1 sing. in *nu* is frequently heard in speaking, and is very common in the old poets, as अपरूप पेखनु रामा "*I saw* the fair one looking woe-begone" (Bidyapati, vii. 1), where some read पेखिनु.

In Gujarati the participle is used alone as a preterite in both forms, that in *yo* and that in *elo*, but more frequently a modern substantive verb is added for greater clearness. This language has no traces of the old incorporated Sanskrit *as*.

§ 50. In the past tenses of all but B. and O. the *prayogas* or constructions mentioned in Vol. II. p. 264, are employed. In most of the languages, indeed, their use is restricted to the past tenses. The direct or *kartâ prayoga* is used with neuter verbs, and requires the subject to be in the nominative case, while the participle, which does duty for a preterite, changes with the gender of the speaker. Thus

H.	वह बोला "he spoke,"	वे बोले "those men spoke."
	वह बोली "she spoke,"	वे बोलीं "those women spoke."

So, also, in P. S. and G. In M. the principle is the same, though there is more variety of forms:

तो म्हटला "he said,"	ते म्हटले "illi dixerunt."
ती म्हटली "she said,"	त्या म्हटल्या "illæ dixerunt."
तें म्हटलें "it said,"	तीं म्हटलीं "illa dixerunt."

And so through all the persons except 1 and 2 plural, where no

distinction of gender is necessary, as the speaker is known. In the active verb, however, the *karma* or objective construction is used, where the subject is put in the instrumental, the verb agreeing in number and gender with the object. Thus, H. मैं ने तुम से बडे कठोर वचन कहे हैं "I have spoken very harsh words to you" (Sak. 33). Here the subject *maĩ ne* is in the instrumental, the verb *kahe haĩ* is masc. plural, to agree with the object *vachan*. दैव ने वैसा ही जोग मिला दिया (*ib.* 39) "Destiny has joined just such a joining" (has brought about such a marriage).

So also in M. the p.p. is declined for all three genders in both numbers so as to agree with the object, as त्यानें पोथी वाचिली "he read the book," where *vâchili* is fem. sing., to agree with *pothi*. In M. and S. many verbs are both active and neuter, in which case the preterite has a double construction, direct or *kartâ* when the verb is used as a neuter, objective or *karma* when it is used as an active. So also in G. The distinction appertains to syntax, and not to formlore, and need not be more than mentioned here.

There is also a third or impersonal construction technically known as *bhâva*, in which the object is not expressed, and the verb, therefore, remains always in the neuter. In M., however, this construction is used even when the object is expressed, as त्यानें त्याला मारिलें "he beat him," literally "by him to him beaten."

§ 51. The participle of the future passive, which in Sanskrit ends in तव्य, plays an important part in the modern verb in some languages. It does not, like the two previously noticed participles, form modern participles, but rather various kinds of verbal nouns, such as in Latin grammar we are familiar with under the names of gerunds and supines, also the infinitive. The Latin gerund itself is, however, closely allied to the participle of the future passive, for *amandi, amando, amandum*, are

respectively the genitive, dative, and accusative of *amandus*. There is, therefore, a participial nature inherent in these forms which justifies their inclusion in the present chapter. The Skr. *tavya* becomes in Pr. *davva*, and with elision of the *d*, *avva*. Thus Skr. बोधितव्य, Pr. बोधिदव्व, बोधिअव्व. So also Pr. करिदव्व, करिअव्व, which must be referred to a Sanskrit form करितव्य rather than to the classical form कर्त्तव्य, for Prakrit, as mentioned before, generally takes no heed of Sanskrit subtleties about inserting or omitting the intermediate इ, but treats all verbs alike, as if that letter were inserted, and it naturally gives the type to its modern descendants in all cases.

The treatment of the form so inherited from the Prakrit differs in the various languages, both in form and meaning.

Sindhi uses it as a present passive participle ending in *ibo*, Pr. करिअव्वो, losing the *a* and the first *v* of the suffix, becomes करिवो, meaning "being done." The transition from the original sense of "that which is to be (or must be) done," into "that which is being done," is simple and natural. Examples are—

वुसाटणु "to choke,"	वुसाटिवो "being choked."
ड़ोहणु "to cheat,"	ड़ोहिवो "being cheated."
झलणु "to seize."	झलिवो "being seized."[1]

Gujarati differs from Sindhi in rejecting the इ and retaining the अ, thus making करवो "being done," as छोडवो *m.*, वी *f.*, वुं *n.*, etc., "being loosed;" लाववो, however, means "bringing," where the sense has become active. The neuter of this form does duty as an infinitive, as जवुं "to go," of which more hereafter.

In Marathi the vowel preceding the *vv* is lengthened, and one *v* rejected, giving a form करावें, which is the same for active and neuter verbs. The meaning, to judge by the

[1] Trumpp, p. 54.

examples quoted, has also changed, for although properly the same as in the older languages, "that which has to be done," it is used in constructions where it implies "the doing" of a thing only. It takes all three genders, and is commonly used also in the genitive and dative cases करावयाचें and करावयास, or करायास. Thus तें मी करावयास सिद्ध आहे "I am ready to do that" (*i.e.* "to the doing of"), आपणासीं कांही बोलावयाचें आहें "I have something to say to you," *i.e.* "with you something of that which must be said I am." Thus it approximates somewhat to the infinitive of G., as in the following passage:

न करावा संग । वाटे दुरावावें जग ॥
सेवावा एकांत । वाटे न बोलावी मात ॥
जन धन तन । वाटे लेखावें वमन ॥

"It is proper not to associate, to be separated from the world;
It is proper to preserve solitude, not to speak at all;
People, wealth, self it is proper to consider as vomit."
—Tukaram. Abh. 1885.

Here *vâṭe* (Skr. वर्त्तते) means "it seems," *i.e.* "it seems proper," like Latin decet, oportet, licet, used impersonally, and the participle agrees with the object. Thus *sanga* and *ekânta* being masc., the participles are masc. *karâvâ* and *sevâvâ*; *mât* (Skr. मात्रा) being fem., *bolâvi* is fem. also; *jag*, *vaman* neut., hence *durâvâveṇ*, *lekhâveṇ* neut. The original meaning of a passive participle may be exhibited by supposing the sentence to be "society is not to be made . . . this seems proper," which is easily inverted into the rendering given above.

When used in the genitive or dative case, the व sometimes drops out, and they say, for instance, आम्हास देशांतरीं जायाचें पडेल "We shall have to go to another country," for जावया', literally "to us in another country *of going* it will fall." Latin would here use the corresponding passive participle, Nobis eundum erit, or Skr. *gantavyam asti*.

Panjabi has apparently no trace left of this participle, nor

has classical Hindi, but in rustic Hindi, especially in the eastern parts of its area, as well as in Bengali and Oriya, this participle exists. In Bhojpuri it ends in वे or बे, without any junction-vowel, and means the doing of anything, as सुनवे न कैलन *sunbe na kailan*, "they did not make *a hearing*," *i.e.* "they would not listen," मानिवे न करिहैं *mānve na karihaĩ*, "they will not make *an obeying*," *i.e.* "they will not obey."[1] It is more emphatic than a simple preterite or future, and implies that the persons referred to obstinately refused to hear or obey.

In B. and O. it is a simple infinitive, but as a noun is declined in all cases, thus B. O. देखिबा "to see," genitive देखिबार "of seeing," etc. As a noun, it also implies the act of doing anything, as O. भण्ड गीत शुणिबा दोष अटे गाइबा त पाप "the hearing of, or listening to, obscene songs, is a fault, the singing (of them) is a crime" (see § 74).

§ 52. The tenses formed from this participle come next to be considered. In Sindhi the old substantive verb is incorporated, just as in the tenses derived from the present and past participles, but it is used to form a future passive from active verbs only, as (*chhaḍ* "abandon"), "I shall be abandoned," etc.

Sing.	*m.*	1. छड़िबुसि	2. छड़िबें	3. छड़िबो
	f.	1. छड़िबिअसि	2. छड़िबिअं	3. छड़िबी
Pl.	*m.*	1. छड़िबासीं	2. छड़िबउ	3. छड़िबा
	f.	1. छड़िबिऊंसीं	2. छड़िबिऊं	3. छड़िबिऊं

Here the terminations are precisely identical in every respect with those of the active future and preterite, exhibited in the preceding sections.

In Gujarati this participle used alone, and inflected for

[1] Kellogg, Grammar, p. 231.

gender, constitutes what the grammar-writers are pleased to call the second present of the second potential mood. It is, however, really a construction of the objective, or *karma*, kind, in which the verb agrees with its object, and the subject or agent is in the instrumental or (as usual in G. in this construction) in the dative; thus they say मारे or में छोडवो "I ought to release," *i.e.* "by me it is to be released," तोरे or तें वीश्वाश करवो "you ought to have confidence," *i.e.* "by thee trust is to be made," Skr. त्वया विश्वासः कर्त्तव्यः.

The genitive case also, oddly enough, forms a tense of its own, also with no trace of the old substantive verb, as छोडवानो *m.*, नी *f.*, नुं *n.* The meaning seems hardly, if at all, distinguishable from that of the nominative, and the construction is objective, as in that tense; thus जे काम अमारे करवानुं "the work which we ought to do." I am not altogether satisfied, however, with the explanation of this tense as the genitive of the above participle, and would suggest that it may possibly be derived from the Âtmane. pres. part. in *mâna*, like *bhavamâna*. It is possible, I think, that though the Âtmanepada has dropped out of use at an early epoch, yet that this participle, not being specially recognized as belonging to that phase of the verb, may, in some dialects, have held its own. From the want of documents of the intermediate period, however, the question is one which must remain, for the present at least, obscure.

Marathi combines the terminations used by it in the indicative present and past, with this participle also, but, from a memory of its origin, employs the tense so formed somewhat in the same way as G., namely, as indicating that a thing ought to be or should be done. From this strict and primary sense other subsidiary meanings branch out, as might be expected. The neuter verb uses the direct or *kartâ* construction, also the *bhâva* or impersonal; the active uses the *karma* and *bhâva*. As it is only in the direct construction that the verb is conjugated

for person, it is only in the neuter verb that the verbal terminations occur. Thus (*sut* "escape")—

Sing. *m.* 1.	सुतावा	2. °वास	3. °वा	Pl. 1.	°वे	2. °वेत	3. °वे
f.	सुटावी	°वीस	°वी		°व्या	°व्यात	°व्या
n.	सुटावें	°वेंस	°वें		°वीं	°वींत	°वीं

The 2 plural here differs from the other tenses in preserving a separate form for all three genders, in which the final *t* recalls the termination of the 2 plural of the Sanskrit optative.

In the active verb with the *karma* construction, the participle is declined for all three genders of both numbers, but in the nominative case only, and the agent is in the instrumental, thus म्यां, तूं or त्यानें सोडावा -वी -वें, etc., "I, thou, he, should loose." In both neuter and active, when the *bhâva* construction is used, the verb stands in the neuter singular with all persons, as सुटावें or सोडावें.

Stevenson (p. 101) distinguishes no less than fourteen different senses of this tense, but the distinctions seem somewhat too finely drawn, and belong rather to the department of conventional usage than to that which deals with the organism and structure of the language.

With a short *a* preceding the characteristic व, which is all that remains of the participial ending, M. forms a whole potential mood, which may even be looked upon as a separate phase of the verb. Thus (*soḍ* "loose")—

Aorist (Past habitual)	मला सोडवे	"I used to be able to loose" (rare),
Present	,, सोडवतें	"I can loose,"
Preterite	,, सोडवलें	"I could loose" (rare),
Future	,, सोडवेल	"I shall be able to loose,"
Imperfect	,, सोडवत होतें	"I could have loosed,"
Pluperfect	,, सोडवलें होतें	"I had been able to have loosed,"

and so on, through all the range of compound tenses. The construction is the Bhâva or impersonal throughout, showing that the form originates from the participle, and is to be literally rendered "by me to be loosed it is, or was," which accounts for the neuter form being used.

§ 53. It is to this place that I would now refer the *ba* type of the future as used in B. and O., and in the Bhojpuri dialect of Hindi. It has been usual to compare these tenses with the Latin futuro in *bo*, as *amabo*, and the comparison is tempting, but, as I now think, delusive. It rests upon the supposition that the *b* of the termination represents the substantive verb *bhú*; but to this there are the seemingly fatal objections that *bhú*, in its modified form of *bhava*, had from very early times become *ho*, losing its labial element altogether, and that the present tense *bhavâmi*, etc., though much changed and worn away in modern times, always retains its characteristic vowel *o*, sometimes shortened to *u* or resolved into *ua*. It is only when an *i* follows the *o*, that the combination *oï* is at times shortened to *e*, as in O. *hebâ*=hoïbâ.

Judging by the analogy of the cognate languages, it seems that we ought now to see in the B. and O. future the Skr. participle in *tavya*, in combination with the present tense of √*as*. The forms are (*dekh*, "see")—

B.	Sing.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबि	3. देखिबे °बेक्
O.	„	1. देखिबि	2. देखिबु	3. देखिब
Bhojpuri.	„	1. देखब्	2. देखब	3. देखी
B.	Pl.	1. देखिब	2. देखिबा °बे	3. देखिबेन
O.	„	1. देखिबुं °बा	2. देखिब	3. देखिबे
Bhojpuri.	„	1. देखब्	2. देखब	3. देखिहीं

The 3 sing. and 3 pl. of Bhojpuri may be excluded from this

group, as they belong to the *sa* or *ha* type of the future (§ 35). The dialect of Riwâ has some forms of the *ba* type, as 2 sing. मारिबेस, 1 pl. मारिब, मारब, and मारिबै, 2 pl. मारिबा. The dialect of Oudh (Avadhî) has 1 sing. मारबूं, 2 मारबेस, मारबे, 1 pl. मारब, 2 मारबो, and in the old Purbi dialect मारब *mârab* is used for all three persons of both numbers.

There is thus apparent a general tendency to the use of the *ba* type of future throughout the eastern area of the Aryan territory in India, and it will be seen by comparing either B. or O. terminations of the future with those of the tenses formed by those languages from the present and past participles respectively, that they are almost, if not quite identical. Thus O.—

		PRESENT.	PAST.	FUTURE.
Sing.	1.	dekhant -*i*	dekhil -*i*	dekhib -*i*
	2.	dekhant -*u*	dekhil -*u*	dekhib -*u*
	3.	dekhant -*á*	dekhil -*á*	dekhib -*á*
Pl.	1.	dekhant -*á*	dekhil -*á*	dekhib -*á*
	2.	dekhant -*a*	dekhil -*a*	dekhib -*a*
	3.	dekhant -*e*	dekhil -*e*	dekhib -*e*

As the analogy of the other languages compels us to see in these terminations abraded fragments of the present tense of *as*, when combined with the present and past participles, the same process of reasoning leads us to see the same element in combination with the future participle, and the 2 sing. of the Riwâ and Avadhi dialects further confirms this view by having preserved, like Marathi, the characteristic *s* of the Skr. 2 sing. *asi*. There is the same agreement of the final vowel in these three tenses of the B. verb, though it is not so accurately preserved as in the more archaic Oriya. Thus B. *dekhib-a* does not correspond with *dekhit-âm*, and *dekhil-âm*. So, also, B. *dekhit-is* differs from *dekhil-i* and *dekhib-i*. There is, however, sufficient general similarity, and the differences consist

mostly in this, that one tense has preserved a more archaic form than the other, thus *dekhitâm* preserves Skr. *asmi*, Pr. *amhi*, better than *dekhiba*, *dekhitis* preserves the *s* of *asi*, while *dekhili* and *dekhibi* have rejected it. Thus, while the abrasion of the substantive verb has been carried to so great a pitch in these two languages as almost to obliterate all traces of it, yet, from the general analogy of cognate forms, there is little doubt that we have in the *ba* future the Skr. participle in *tavya*. The final *k* in the 3 sing. of B. is a phenomenon for which I have in vain sought an explanation; the most probable one is, I think, that which considers it merely as a *tag*, or meaningless addition, but why a tag should have been added to this person merely, and not to others also, remains to be explained.

§ 54. The two remaining types of the future may appropriately be introduced here. They are certainly participial tenses, though not participial in the same sense or on the same plan as the other tenses discussed in this chapter; they are, in fact, exactly the reverse. Whereas, in the other participial tenses, it is the modern stem which is the participle, and the ancient verbal additions are a present tense, in the two types of future, which we shall now examine, the modern stem is a present tense, and the ancient verbal addition is a participle.

The first of the two is the *ga* type. This consists in adding H. sing. गा *m.*, गी *f.*, pl. गे *m.*, गीं *f.*, to the aorist, and the same in P. except the pl. *f.*, which is गीआं. In the pl. *f.* H. also ordinarily drops the anuswâra. This type is only found in H. and P. The tense runs thus (*sun* "hear"), "I will hear," etc.

H. Sing.	1. सुनूंगा	2. सुनेगा	3. सुनेगा
„ Pl.	1. सुनेंगे	2. सुनोगे	3. सुनेंगे
P. Sing.	1. सुणांगा	2. सुणेंगा	3. सुणेगा
„ Pl.	1. सुणांगे	2. सुणोगे	3. सुणनगे

If the reader will compare this example with that of the aorist in § 33, it will be at once apparent that this tense is formed by adding the syllables *gâ*, *gi*, etc., to that tense. Among the Mahomedans of Delhi and other large cities, this form is used even as a present, and one frequently hears such a word as *haigâ*, for *hai* "it is." There can be little doubt that this *gâ* is the Skr. p.p. गत, Pr. गदो, गयो, गओ. In H., as mentioned in § 48, the p.p. of *jânâ* "to go," is *gayâ m.*, and this in the mediæval poets is often shortened to *gâ*. The *f.* is गई *gaî*, which easily becomes गी, so also pl. *m.* गए becomes गे. The meaning of the tense is thus, "I have gone (that) I may do," a construction which recalls our English idiom "I am going to do," and French "je vais faire." The participial nature of the affix is shown by its being inflected for gender and number in concord with the agent.

This type seems to be of late origin. It is not much, if at all, known or used by the early writers, who, except when they use the future of the *ba* type, generally express a future sense by the aorist only. As this method grew by degrees to be felt insufficient, the participle was added to give greater distinctness.

§ 55. The second type is that which has *l* for its characteristic. Among the classical dialects Marathi only employs this form, and there has been much speculation about the Marathi future by those who only looked to the language itself. It had, however, long been known that a future with this type existed in the Marwâri dialect, belonging to the Hindi area, and spoken over a large extent of country in Western Rajputana. The able researches of Kellogg have recently placed us in possession of two more instances of a future of this type spoken in Nepal and by the mountaineers of Garhwâl, and Kumaon in the Himalayas, who are by origin Rajputs from the

plains. Thus, the Marathi future now no longer stands alone, and we are in a position to compare the whole group of futures of the *la* type (*paṛ* "fall," *mâr* "strike," *ho* "be," *suṭ, soḍ*).

SINGULAR.

Marwâri.		1. पड़ूंलो	2. पड़ैलो	3. पड़ैलो
Gaṛhwâli.		1. मारलो	2. मारिल्यो	3. मारलो
Kumaoni.		1. मारूंलो	2. मारेलो	3. मारलो
Nepali.		1. हुंला	2. होलास	3. होला
Marâthi.	neuter.	1. सुटेन	2. सुटसील	3. सुटेल
	active.	1. सोडीन	2. सोडिसील	3. सोडील

PLURAL.

Marwâri.		1. पड़ांला	2. पड़ोला	3. पड़ैला
Gaṛhwâli.		1. मारला	2. मरिल्या	3. मारला
Kumaoni.		1. मारूंला	2. मारला	3. मारला
Nepali.		1. हौंला	2. हौला	3. ह्नन्
Marâthi.	neuter.	1. सुटूं	2. सुटाल	3. सुटतील
	active.	1. सोडूं	2. सोडाल	3. सोडितील

In these dialects the aorist has had added to it a form लो sing. and ला pl., which does not appear to be inflected for gender, but has only sing. and pl. masc. So far as it goes, however, it directly corresponds to H. and P. *gá, ge*, etc., and like them points to a participial origin. In Marathi the inflectional terminations have been dropped, and in some cases even the *la* itself. The 1 sing. of the neuter aorist is सुटें, and adding ल to this, we get सुटेंल, which, being difficult to pronounce, has glided into सुटेन. In the 1 pl., however, the ल has simply been rejected, so that it is the same as the aorist. In the 2 sing. the aorist has सुटस, but, as has already been shown, this is a contraction from सुटसि, and सुटसि + ल =

सुटसील, from the Marathi habit of lengthening the vowel of a final syllable. In the 2 pl.(aorist सुटां) the ल has neither been fused with the anuswâra into न, as in the 1 sing., nor has it altogether dropped out, as in the 1 pl.; but there is no trace of the anuswâra; the reason of this is that the anuswâra in this person is not organic; the older language has simply *á*, as सुटा, and it is to this that the ल has been added, and not to the modern form. The third person singular and plural is still simpler; aor. सुटे + ल = सुटेल, and (archaic) सुटती + ल = सुटतील. The same process is followed by the active verb exactly.

I look upon this ल as the shortened form of a sing. लो *m.*, ली *f.*, pl. ला *m.*, लीं *f.*, of which the feminine is apparently not in use, and I derive it from Skr. √लग्, p.p.p. लग्न, Pr. लग्गो, of which the *gg* has been reduced to *g* according to ordinary practice, and the single *g* has then dropped out, leaving लओ, shortened into लो. This derivation is confirmed by the fact that in all the languages this verb is used in the sense of beginning to do any thing, as in H. करने लगा, "he began to do." In M. especially it is used in a very wide range of applications, and सुटेल appropriately means "he begins (that) he may do," in other words "he is about to do," "he will do."

§ 56. I give here, for convenience of comparison, a tabular view of the participles and the participial tenses derived from them.

I.—Present Participle Active.

Sanskrit पचन् *m.*, पचन्ती *f.*, पचत् *n.* Prakrit पचंतो *m.*, °ती *f.*, °तं *n.*

	Hindi.	Panjabi.	Sindhi.		Gujarati.	Marathi.		Oriya.	Bangali.
			Neuter.	*Active.*		*Neuter.*	*Active.*		
Participle.	देखता °ती	1. जांदा °दी °दे °दीआं	हलंदो °दी	भरींदो °दी	छोडतो °ती °तुं	सुटता °ती °तें	सोडिता °ती °तें		
(a) *declinable.*	°ते °तीं	2. मारदा °दी, etc.	°दा °दिउं	°दा °दिउं	°ता °ती °तां	°ते °त्या °तीं	°ते °त्या °तीं	,,	,,
(b) *indeclinable.*	देखंत देखत	,,	,,	,,	छोडतां °ते	सुटत °तां °तांना	सोडीत °तां °तांना	देखु °खुं	देखिते
Present (Future, etc.) Tense. S. 1.	देखता °ती	मारदा °दी	हलंदुसि °दिआसि	भरींदुसि, etc.	छोडतो °ती °तुं	सुटतों[1]	सोडितों	देखंति	देखिताम
2.			हलंदें °दिअ	भरींदें °दिअ		सुटतोस सुटतास	सोडितोस सोडितास	देखंतु	देखितिस
3.			हलंदो °दी	भरींदो °दी		सुटतो सुटता	सोडितो सोडिता	देखंता	देखित
Pl. 1.	देखते °तीं	मारदे °दीआं	हलंदासीं °बूसीं	भरींदासीं, etc.	छोडता °ती °तां	सुटतों	सोडितों	देखंतुं	देखिताम
2.			हलंदउ °बूं	भरींदउ °बूं		सुटतां	साडितां	देखंत	देखिता
3.			हलंदा °बूं	भरींदा °बूं		सुटतात सुटते	सोडितात सोडिते	देखंते	देखितेन

[1] On account of the multiplicity of forms in Marathi, the masculines only of the indicative and conditional are given in this table.

II.—Past Participle Passive.

Sanskrit कृतस् *m.*, कृता *f.*, कृतं *n.* Prakrit करिओ *m.*, करी *f.*, करिअं *n.*

		HINDI.	PANJABI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.		ORIYA.	BANGALI.
Participle.		मारा °री °रे °रीं	मारिआ °री °रे °रीआं	हल्यो °ली °ल्या °ल्यूं	छोड्यो °डी °ड्युं °ड्या °डी °ड्यां and छोडेलो, etc.	सुटला °ली °लें °ले °ल्या °लीं	सोडिला °ली °लें °ले °ल्या °लीं	देखिल	देखिल
Past Tense.	S. 1.	मारा °री	मारिआ °ई	हलिउसि °असि हलिएं °इअं हल्यो °ई	छोड्यो °डी °ड्युं छोडेलो °ली °लुं	सुटलों °लें °लों सुटलास °लीस °लेंस सुटला °ली °लें	सोडिला °ली °लें	देखिलि देखिलु देखिला	देखिनु देखिलि देखिल
	Pl. 1.	मारे °रीं	मारे °ईआं	हलिआसीं, etc. हलिअउ °यूं हलिआ °यूं	छोड्या °डी °ड्यां छोडेला °ली °लां	सुटलों सुटलां सुटले °ल्या °लीं	सोडिले °ल्यालीं	देखिलु देखिल देखिले	देखिलाम देखिला देखिलेन

III.—Future Participle Passive.

Sanskrit बोधितव्यस् *m.*, °व्या *f.*, °व्यं *n.* Prakrit बोधिदव्व, बोधिअव्व.

	HINDI.	SINDHI.	GUJARATI.	MARATHI.		ORIYA.	BANGALI.
Participle (Infinitive, etc.).	सुनवे मानिवे	छड़बो °बी °बा °ब्यूं	छोडवो °वी °वुं °वा °वी °वां	सुटावा °वी °वें °वे °व्या °वीं	सोडावा °वी °वें °वे °व्या °वीं	देखिवा	देखिबा
	(Bhojpuri.)						
S. 1.	देखब्[1]	छड़िबुसि[2]		सुटावा[2]		देखिबि	देखिब
2.	देखब	छड़िबें		सुटावास		देखिबु	देखिबि
3.	*deest*	छड़िबो	छोडवो, etc.	सुटावा	सोडावा °वी °वें	देखिब	देखिबे °बक्
Pl. 1.	देखब्	छड़िबासीं	छोडवानो, etc.	सुटावे		देखिबु °बा	देखिब
2.	देखब	छड़िबउ		सुटवेत		देखिब	देखिबा °बे
3.	*deest*	छड़िबा		सुटावे		देखिबे	देखिबेन

[1] See other dialectic forms in § 53.

[2] Only the masculine is given from want of space.

§ 57. The only participial tenses in the Gipsy verb are those formed from the past participle. This participle is sometimes regularly formed from the modern verbal root, and sometimes, as in the other languages, is an early Tadbhava, perpetuating the type of the Prakrit participle.

There are, as in the other languages, three types of this participle ending in (1) *to* or *do*, (2) *lo*, (3) *no*. Examples of the first type are—

anâva "to carry,"	ando,	Skr. ânî,		p.p.p.	ânîta, S. ândo.
jivâva "to live,	jivdo,	,,	jîv,	,,	jîvita.
kerâva "to do,"	kerdo,	,,	kṛi,	,,	kṛita, Pers. karda.
nashâva "to depart,"	nashto,	,,	naç,	,,	nashṭa.
chinâva "to cut,"	chindo,	,,	chhid,	,,	chhinna.

Of the second type—

avâva "to come,"	alo,	,,	âyâ,	,,	âyâta, M. âlâ, B. O. âila.
jâva "to go,"	gelo,	,,	yâ,	,,	yâta, M. gelâ, B. gela, O. galâ.
dikâva "to see,"	diklo,				B. dekhila, O. dekhilâ.

Of the third type—

dâva "to give,"	dino,	,,	dâ,	,,	datta, Pr. diṇṇo, O.-H. dinnâ, dînâ
lâva "to take,"	lino,	,,	labh,	,,	labdha, O.-H. linnâ, lînâ.
rovâva "to weep,"	rovno,	,,	rud,	,,	rudita, Pr. ruṇṇo, S. runo.
uryâva "to fly,"	uryano,	,,	uḍḍî,	,,	uḍḍîna, S. uḍâṇo.

The Aorist is formed by adding the terminations of the old substantive verb, thus from *lino* "taken"—

Sing.	1. linom,	2. linân,	3. linâs,
Pl.	1. linân,	2. linân,	3. linâs "I took," etc.

So from *kerdo* "done," comes

Sing. 1. kerdom, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs,
Pl. 1. kerdâm, 2. kerdân, 3. kerdâs "I did," etc.

And from *muklo* "abandoned" (Skr. mukta)—

Sing. 1. muklom, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs,
Pl. 1. muklâm, 2. muklân, 3. muklâs "I left," etc.

This proceeding is strictly analogous in principle to the method employed in Sindhi, to which, of all the Indian languages, that of the Gipsies bears the closest relation.

The future is formed by prefixing to the present tense the word kâma, Skr. kâm "desire," and thus means "I wish to do," etc. Thus kerâva "I do," kamakerâva "I will do," *i.e.* "I wish to do." The prefixed word does not vary for number or person. This method of forming the future is, as Paspati (p. 101) points out, borrowed from modern Greek, in which *θέλω* contracted to *θὲ* and *θὰ*, is used in this way, as *θὰ ὑπάγω* "I will go." There is nothing strictly analogous to this method in our seven languages, though the futures of the *ga* and *la* types are formed on a not very dissimilar principle.

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMPOUND TENSES.

CONTENTS.—§ 58. Definition of the Compound Tenses and Auxiliary Verbs.—§ 59. The Root *AS*, Present Tense.—§ 60. Imperfect in Panjabi and Gipsy.—§ 61. *AS* with a Negative.—§ 62. Compound Tenses formed with *AS*.—§ 63. The Root *ACHH*; Discussion as to its Origin.—§ 64. Tenses derived therefrom.—§ 65. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 66. *BHÚ*;—the Simple Tenses.—§ 67. *id.*;—the Participial Tenses.—§ 68. Compound Tenses formed therewith.—§ 69. *STHÁ*.—§ 70. *YÁ*.—§ 71. Ancillary Verbs Defined.—§ 72. Examples of Ancillaries.

§ 58. Further removed from the old synthetical type than either of the preceding classes of tenses is that class which now comes under discussion. It is by means of this class that the seven modern languages, after having rejected the numerous and complicated formations of the Sanskrit verb, have secured for themselves the machinery necessary for the expression of very delicate shades of meaning. So numerous, indeed, are these shades of meaning, and so fine are the distinctions between them, that it is very difficult for a foreigner to catch them.

The tenses in question are constructed by adding to the participles already mentioned various tenses of certain auxiliary verbs, and in a few instances by adding these auxiliaries to the simple present, or aorist. The auxiliaries themselves are modern formations capable of being used alone, and are traceable to well-known Sanskrit roots through processes partly Prakritic and partly post-Prakritic. Pali and the Prakrits carry the verbs in question through certain grades of change,

and the modern languages either preserve the Prakrit form unchanged, or subject it to further changes of their own, such changes being often governed by laws unknown to the Prakrit stage of development.

The roots so employed are √ अस्, √ भू, √ स्था, √ या, and another, whose origin is somewhat obscure in Sanskrit, but which appears in Prakrit under the form अच्छ्. It will be necessary first to examine each of these roots and draw out the modern forms to be affiliated to each, after which the tenses formed by them may be arranged in order.

§ 59. *AS.* This root means "to be," and is the simple copula like Latin *esse* (see under *sthâ* in § 12). Only the present tense can be clearly traced in the modern languages, though there are some detached fragments here and there which may possibly represent other tenses. These will be noted further on. In Sanskrit the root belongs to the second or *ad* conjugation, in which the terminations are added direct to the root, thus giving rise to various euphonic changes in accordance with the laws of Sandhi. Pali and the scenic Prakrits, in contradiction to their usual practice of employing the *bhû* type for all roots, retain in this verb the *ad* type. Omitting the dual, the tense runs—

Skr.	Sing.	1. asmi,	2. asi,	3. asti.
„	Pl.	1. smaḥ,	2. stha,	3. santi.
Pa. and Pr.	Sing.	1. asmi, amhi.	2. asi,	3. atthi.
„	Pl.	1. asma, amha.	2. attha,	3. santi.

In Prakrit the initial vowel is often elided as *'mhi, 'mha.* These forms, however, belong to the scenic Prakrit, which, as Pischel has shown, is really almost as artificial a language as Sanskrit, and on comparing the corresponding tense in the modern languages, it seems difficult, if not impossible, to derive it from the scenic forms. We are not justified in assuming

that the modern tense was derived, according to different phonetic laws, from those which have guided and effected the transformations of other words in these languages. On the contrary, in the absence of a continuous chain of documents exhibiting the gradual changes that have taken place, we have nothing to guide us but the general principles of phonetic evolution, which we have been able to formulate for ourselves from undoubted instances. We have numerous well-established cases in which the Prakrit, followed by the moderns, has conjugated a verb according to the *bhú* type, though in classical Sanskrit it follows some other conjugation; indeed, it may, I think, be considered as proved that the forms of the *bhú* conjugation have swallowed up all other conjugational types, just as much as those of the *as* stem in nouns have driven out all other declensional forms. In this view there would be strong reasons for postulating the existence of a present tense of √अस् conjugated after the *bhú* type, thus—

Sing.	1. asâmi,	2. asasi,	3. asati.
Pl.	1. asâmaḥ,	2. asatha,	3. asanti.

It is only from such a form as this, the existence of which, though I am not aware of any text in which it is found, may fairly be inferred from analogy, that the modern forms can, in accordance with the ordinary laws of development, be derived.

Beginning with Sindhi as the most archaic, or nearly so, this tense runs thus—

Sing.	1. आंहियां,	2. आंहें, आंहीं,	3. आहे.
Pl.	1. आंहियूं,	2. आंहियो,	3. आंहिनि.

Now, barring the troublesome superfluity of anunâsikas which the Sindhians have seen fit to bestow on this aorist, the forms are strikingly similar to those of the Sanskrit tense postulated above. The 3 sing. *âhe* is contracted from *ahaï*, which, again, is good Prakrit for *asati*, but it could hardly be deduced from *asti*, which, as we have seen, naturally results in

Prakrit *atthi*. The terminations of the other persons agree with those of the aorist of the active verb given in § 33, and those are obviously and admittedly derived from the terminations of the *bhú* type. I am unable to account for the peculiarity of this tense using the forms of the active verb, where we should naturally have expected those of the neuter, आहां, etc. like हलां, etc. Trumpp does not notice this point, and as I am not in possession of any documents in mediæval Sindhi, I have no materials on which to form an opinion. It is to be hoped that the learned author, in the next edition of his very valuable grammar, will furnish some elucidation of this curious anomaly. This tense is all that remains to us in Sindhi of the Sanskrit substantive verb *as*.

Only the aorist, also, has survived in Marathi, which has—

Sing.	1. आहें,	2. आहेस	3. आहे.
Pl.	1. आहों	2. आहां,	3. आहेत.

These are the regular terminations of the aorist in the neuter verb, only the 1 plural differs slightly, having ओं instead of ऊं. In M., as in S., the initial vowel is lengthened, the reason for which is not obvious, as there has been no loss of consonants requiring compensatory lengthening. M., like S., has only this one tense from *as*. No traces of it are found in G. or O., except in a negative form, which will be treated of in the next section.

Hindi and Panjabi agree very closely in the aorist. Classical Hindi represents, however, a modern development of this tense. In the mediæval writers, and in the present dialects of the eastern and central Hindi area, the older form is preserved thus—

	Singular.		
Old-H.	1. अहउं	2. अहहि	3. अहहि
Avadhî.	1. अहेंउं	2. अहेस	3. अहै
Riwâî.	1. हूं, आं	2. है	3. है, आ

		Plural.	
Old-H.	1. अहहिं	2. अहऊ	3. अहहिं
Avadhî.	1. अही	2. अहें, अहौ	3. अहैं
Riwâî.	1. हैं	2. अहेन, ही	3. अहेन अहैं आं.

The 3 singular in the poets is sometimes written with, and sometimes without, the last *h*, as in Kabir क्रितिया सुच लोक एक अहइ "There *is* one line of duty in the world" (Ram. lvi. 1), or written as a dissyllabic word, as राम नाम अहै निज सारू ॥ "The name of Ram *is* itself the true one" (*ib.* lxiv. 5), or with long *i*, metri gratia, धर्म कहै सब पानी अहई ॥ "Religion, he saith, *is* all (one like) water" (*ib.* lxxiii. 5). The 1 singular occurs in रहऊ संभारे राम विचारे कहत अहौं (for अहउं) जो पुकार हो ॥ "Pause and attend, ponder on Ram, thus *I am* calling aloud, oh!" (*ib.* Kah. 7). So also in Tulsi Das, तसि मति फिरी अहइ जसि भावी ॥ "Thus her mind *is* changed as fate decrees" (Ay-k. 117), राम चराचर नायक अहहीं ॥ "Ram *is* lord of things moveable and immoveable" (*ib.* 445), विधि करतब उलटे सब अहहीं "The laws of duty *are* all reversed" (*ib.* 617), सुगम सकल मग तुम्ह कहँ अहहीं "All roads *are* easy to thee" (*ib.* 574).

By aphæresis of the initial *a* we get the ordinary classical Hindi tense—

Sing.	1. हौं, हूं,	2. है,	3. है.	Pl.	1. हैं,	2. हो,	3. हैं.

The classical language uses हूं in the 1 sing., but हौं is used in the poets, in Braj, and in the rustic dialects. Between हौं, used as a singular, and हैं, used as a plural, there is the same confusion as in the same persons of the aorist in the ordinary verb (§ 33). The form हौं seems to belong more naturally to a Pr. *ahâmu*, and हैं to *ahâmi*, and we are led to suspect that an inversion of the two words has taken place. Avadhi 2 sing. *ahes* has, like M., a variant *ahas*, both of which lead back to an older *ahasi*, just as 3 sing. *ahai* does to *ahati*. It is obvious that had √*as* not been treated as a *bhû* verb, there would have

arisen no such types as *ahai* and *hai*; for *asti* goes into *atthi*, which would have led to something very different.

Panjabi closely follows H., having—

Sing. 1. हां, 2. हैं, 3. है. Pl. 1. हां, 2. हो, 3. हन.

It has also, as noticed in § 54, a form of this tense with the participial addition गा *m.*, गी *f.*, etc., as—

Sing. 1. हांगा, 2. हैंगा, 3. हैगा,
Pl. 1. हांगे, 2. होगे, 3. हनगे "I am," etc.,

where the type of the future is mixed up with that of the present. I have heard this form used mostly at the end of a sentence, where the speaker seems to hesitate, as if he felt the want of something more to say, and ultimately adds a *gá*. It is also used doubtingly, as when you suggest a possible explanation of some difficulty, and your companion answers "well, perhaps it is so"—हैगा.

The same form occurs in the Kanauji dialect of Hindi.

The present of this verb in the dialect of the Rumilian Gipsies (Paspati, p. 80) adheres more closely to the Sanskrit. It runs thus—

Sing. 1. isóm, 2. isán, 3. isí.
Pl. 1. isám, 2. isán, 3. isí.

§ 60. Panjabi has also an imperfect in a great many forms which must apparently be affiliated to this root. First there is a purely participial form—

Sing. 1, 2, 3, सा *m.*, सी *f.*
Pl. से *m.*, सीआं *f.*, "I, thou, he was," etc.

Then गा is added as in the present, giving सागा, सीगो, सेंगे, सीगीआं. I do not remember ever to have heard this form, but it is given in the *Lodiana* grammar. One often hears सी, which is properly feminine singular, used for the mascu-

line singular, and plural also. Moreover, there is a defective form having only some of the persons, which looks somowhat inflectional. The singular 2 and 3, and plural 2, are supplied by parts of खा.

Sing. 1. सां. Pl. 1. सां. 3. सन, सैन.

To this, also, is added गा, thus

Sing. 1. सांगा *m.*, सांगी *f.*
Pl. 1. सांगे *m.*, सांगीआं *f.* 3. सनगे *m.*, सनगीआं *f.*

Yet another and extremely common form in colloquial usage prefixes है to this type—

Sing. 1. हैसां. 2, 3. हैसी.
Pl. 1, 2. हैसे *m.*, हैसीआं *f.* 3. हैसन.

Most of these forms are dialectic, and, as such, in use only in certain parts of the country. The participial form given first is probably the original; seeing how much the past tenses of the Sanskrit verb had fallen out of use at an early period, we are, perhaps, hardly justified in looking for anything but a participial origin for a modern past tense, and in this view we might postulate a p.p.p. *asita*. On the other hand, however, it so happens that the imperfect of *as* is one of the few imperfects of Skr. verbs, which did live on into the Pali and Prakrit, and the inflectional form of this tense can be phonetically derived therefrom, thus—

Skr.	Sing. 1. आसं,	2. असीः,	3. आसीत्.
	Pl. 1. आस्म,	2. आस्त,	3. आसन्.
P.	Sing. 1. सां,	2. सी,	3. सी.
	Pl. 1. सां,	—	3. सन.

If we take this view it would seem that the tense was originally inflectional, but that all other verbs in the language having a participial construction, this also was, by the common

process of mistaken analogy, considered participial also, and *i* being the ordinary termination of the feminine, सी was erroneously taken for a feminine, and a masculine सा was invented to suit it, together with the plurals से and सीआं. This reasoning will account also for the fact that सी is often used for the masculine singular. Whether the origin of this multiform tense be participial or inflectional, it is abundantly clear that the present usage of the language presents a maze of confused forms, which, their origin having been forgotten, have become mixed together in great variety.

Here, I would provisionally refer the imperfect in the Braj dialect of Hindi, which is participial in form, and does not vary for person. It is sing. हो *m.*, ही *f.*, pl. हे *m.*, हीं *f.* A variation of this form in Western Rajputana (Márwár) has sing. हो, pl. हा. I think we must see in this form a p.p.p. of *as*, with loss of the initial vowel, and change of स into ह.

So, also, here would, on the same principle, come in two preterites or rather imperfects—

Kanauji.	Sing.	हतो *m.*, हती *f.*
	Pl.	हते *m.*, हतीं *f.*, "I, etc., was."
Gujarati.	Sing.	हतो *m.*, हती *f.*, हतुं *n.*
	Pl.	हता *m.*, हती *f.*, हतां *n. id.*

which appear to come from Pr. present participle संतो "being." The change of meaning from a present to an imperfect has an analogy in the treatment of the corresponding tense of the verb *ho* (§ 67).

The Gipsy language has retained an imperfect of this root, not directly derived from the Skr. imperfect, but formed by the addition of the syllable *as* to the present.[1]

Sing.	1. isómas,	2. isánas,	3. isás (isí+as).
Pl.	1. isámas,	2. isánas,	3. isás.

[1] Paspati, p. 80. Miklosich, vol. ii. p. 15, has a long dissertation on the subject, which, however, is very confused and bewildering to read.

This language uniformly makes an imperfect from every root by adding *as* to the present, but the process is so foreign to our Indian languages as to have no interest for us in the present inquiry.

§ 61. The derivatives of *as* in the present tense are in some languages curiously bound up with the negative into a tense which exists in those languages in which there is no trace of the positive form. Thus Oriya, which has no positive present *as*, has a complete negative present, "I am not, etc."

Sing.	1. नुहें,	2. नुह,	3. नुहे.
Pl.	1. नाऊं,	2. नाह,	3. नाहान्ति.

Here the *u* in the first syllable of the singular is due to some confusion with the tense of *bhû*, to be noted hereafter; but though this form is common in writing, the peasantry often say simply नहे, "he is not." The insertion of this *u* is accounted for by supposing it to have slipped over from the following syllable, thus, *nuhe* would be for *na hue*, and *nuhanti* for *na huanti*. *Nuhanti*, and not *nâhânti*, is the older form, as in—

करुणा हृदय नुहन्ति निरदय ।

"Merciful-hearted *they are not*, but pitiless."—Rasak. vi. 18.

There being in O. no positive present from *as*, the survival of the negative present has naturally been accounted for by referring it to the only positive present remaining, namely, that from *bhû*; but this seems to be a false analogy, because, as will be shown later on, in many constructions the negative is used without the *u*, and is generally so used by the rustic classes.

G. has नथी for all persons of both tenses, they say हुं नथी "I am not," तुं नथी "thou art not," ते नथी "he is not." This is a case of forgetfulness of the origin of a word leading to its use being extended to cases where it has no right to be, for

नथी is clearly derived from अत्थि, the Pr. form of अस्ति with न prefixed, and thus, strictly speaking, belongs only to the 3 sing.

The negative of *as* is kept distinct from that of *bhû* in Marathi, the former runs thus—

Sing. 1. नाहीं, 2. नाहींस, 3. नाहीं. Pl. 1, 2. नाहीं, 3. नाहींत.

In Hindi नहि and नहीं are used to mean simply "not," and if they ever had any verbal meaning, have now quite lost it. In Sindhi the negative prefixed merely coalesces with it, without in any way influencing it, or bringing about any change in its form; thus नाहे or नआहे "he is not."

§ 62. The present tense from *as* is added to the simple and participial tenses of the neuter, active, or causal stem, to form a class of compound tenses, having significations somewhat more definite than the participial tenses when used alone. In some cases, however, no additional strength of meaning seems to be gained. In the following examples it will suffice to quote the 3 singular in each tense, from which the reader can form the rest for himself.

Hindi adds the present of *as* to the present and past participles of the ordinary verb, to form a definite present and definite preterite respectively, as—

Def. Present • देखता है "he is seeing."
Def. Preterite देखा है "he has seen."

Colloquially, also, one sometimes hears a tense formed from the aorist of the verb, and that of the auxiliary, as आवे है "he comes." This usage prevails more in the Western Hindi area, where the language is transitional to Gujarati, and is not approved of in classical speech.[1]

[1] Kellogg, p. 206.

Panjabi has the following:—

Def. Present	जांदा है "he is going."
Def. Imperfect	जांदा सा "he was going."
Def. Preterite	गिआ है "he has gone."
Pluperfect	गिआ सा "he had gone."

Sindhi has, like Hindi, the two definite tenses:—

Def. Present	हलंदो आहे "he is going."
Def. Preterite	हलिओ आहे "he has gone."

Marathi has a wider range; it forms two separate tenses, one from the indeclinable, another from the declinable form of its present participle, a definite perfect from its past participle, and a sort of future with its noun of agency (§ 75). In the last-named instance, however, we have hardly a tense, but rather a participial construction—

Def. Present	लिहीत आहे "he is writing."
„ (Emphatic)	लिहितो आहे "he *is* writing."
Def. Preterite	लिहिला आहे "he has written."
Future	लिहिणार आहे "he is about to write."

The other languages having no traces of this auxiliary, naturally have no tenses formed by it.

§ 63. *ACHH.* This root must be taken next, in order to preserve the natural sequence of tenses in the modern verbs. It has been customary hitherto to accept without inquiry the assumption that the auxiliaries of this form are derived from *as*; but there are considerable difficulties in the way of admitting this view, which appears, as far as I can trace it back, to have arisen from Vararuchi, xii. 19 (*Śauraseni*), *asterachchha*. But the next sûtra gives *tipâtthi*, as far as we can see from the very corrupt state of the text, and the parallel passage from the Sankshipta Sâra (Lassen, App. p. 51) gives only *atthi*,

though fragments of a present tense *achchhaï*, etc., are quoted by Lassen (p. 346) from the latter authority. By his reference to p. 266, the author would seem to favour a derivation from *asti* by inversion *atsi*, as *ts* we know (Vol. I. p. 317) migrates into च्छ, but this will not account for the other persons of the tense.

It does not, however, follow that Vararuchi, in quoting *achchh* as an equivalent for *as*, ever meant that the former was phonetically evolved from the latter. He is merely giving us the popular equivalent of the classical word. Just in the same way he tells us (viii. 68) that *vuṭṭa* and *khuppa* are used for Skr. *masj*, but no one supposes that *vuṭṭa* can, by any known process of phonetic change, be *derived* from *masj*. It is simply a popular word used instead of a refined one. So, also, when he tells us that *achchh* is used instead of *as*, we are not bound to believe that he means to say that the former is derived from the latter, but simply that it is in use side by side with it. Hemachandra, in the same way, gives many popular equivalents of Skr. roots, which are not derivatives from those roots.

Weber, Hala, p. 41, rejects, and with justice, the idea of any connection between the two words, and suggests that *acch* is a form of *gach* (√ gam), "to go." This view is supported by citations from the Bhâgavati (i. 411, etc.), as e.g. *acchejja vâ ciṭṭhejja vâ nisîeyya vâ uyaṭṭejja*, "Let him go, or stand, or sit down, or rise up." In the examples quoted from the Saptaśatakam, however, the word bears more often the opposite meaning of standing still; and often may be rendered by either one or the other; thus—

tuppâṇaṇâ kino ac-
chasi tti ia pucchiâi vahuâi.—Sapt. 291.

Here Weber translates, "Why *goest* thou with anointed face?" but the scholiast has *kiṃ tishṭhasi*, "why *standest* thou?" The general meaning of the passage is merely "why *art thou*" thus, *i.e.* "why have you got your face anointed?" So in 344,

asamattamanorahaiṃ acchanti mithunaim, it must be rendered, "They *are* (or stand) with their desires unfulfilled." In another passage, 169, it has still more unmistakeably the meaning of *stay*:

acchaü tâva maṇaharam
piyâi muhadaṃsaṇaṃ aïmahaggham
taggâmachettasîmâ
vi jhatti diṭṭha suhâvei,

literally, "Let stand (or let be) the heart-entraneing, very precious sight of the face of my love, even the boundary of the fields of her village, when seen, straightway delights." He means a sort of hyperbole, as we might say, "Her face delights, said I? not her face merely—(or, let alone her face)—why even the sight of the village where she lives delights." Here *acchaü* is 3 singular imperative; the idiom is in common use in modern speech; thus in O. they would say *tâku dekhibâ thâü, tâhâr grâm simâ madhya dekhibâ ânand aṭe*, "Let the seeing of her stand aside, the seeing of her village boundary merely is delight." It is like the use of the word *alam* in Sanskrit. Parallel to the use of O. থা in this construction is that of থাক in B. Thus, Bhârat Chandra—

উপোষে উপোষে লোক হৈল মৃত প্রায়।
থাকুক অন্নের কথা জল নাহি পায়॥

"From long fasting the folk were nearly dead,
Let alone food, they could not (even) get water."—Mânsingh, 446.

Literally, "Let the matter of food *stand* (aside)," see § 69. In the Chingana or Gipsy also *ach* means "to remain," "to stand." Thus, *opré pirende achâva*, "I stand on my feet," or simply, "I stand," Paspati "se tenir debout;" *achilo korkoro* "he remained alone," *ate achilom* "here I am," literally "here I have remained;" *achen devlésa* "remain with God," "good-bye" (*i.e.* "God be with ye"), Pasp. "Salutation très-commune parmi les Tchingianés."

Not to multiply examples, the use of this verb in a sense which, whatever its original meaning, has become almost equivalent to that of "being," is well established in the Jaina Prakrit and in Hâla. The aphæresis of an initial consonant is rare. In scenic Prakrit it is confined almost entirely to the root ज्ञ (*jâna*), as in *âṇâsi* = *jânâsi*, *âṇavedi* = *âjnâpayati*, etc. Also in *uṇo* = *punaḥ*, and a few other words.

But I would suggest that this word may after all be nothing more than a form of Skr. √अक्ष् *aksh*, "to appear." This root seems to have borne in Skr. rather the meaning of "to reach, pervade" (see Williams's Dict. s.v.), but if we are to connect with it अक्षि "eye," as seems probable, the meaning of "to see," or "to appear," would be natural to it. It will be shown presently that the various languages have forms ending in क्ख, स, and ख, and all these three forms phonetically point to an earlier क्ष.[1]

Leaving Prakrit scholars to decide whence comes this stem अच्छ् or अक्ख् (Weber writes it in both ways), we may, I think, start from the fact that there is such a stem in Prakrit, and we have the opinion of a high authority for disputing its connection with अस्. Indeed, as has already been shown, अस् so regularly passes into अह् in the moderns, that it is difficult to conceive by what process it could ever have become अच्छ्. I

[1] Hemachandra's evidence seems conclusive against any connection between *ach* and *gam*, for he has a sûtra to the effect that words of the class *gam* take the termination *cha*; the list consists of the four words *gacchaï* (gam), *icchaï* (ish), *jacchaï* (yam), and *acchaï* (?).—Pischel, Hem., iv. 215. If *acchaï* were only *gacchaï*, with loss of the initial consonant, it would hardly be given as a separate instance of the rule. In another passage occurs a use of this word exactly similar to that from Hala quoted above—

jâmahiṃ visamî kajjagaï jîvahaṃ majjhe ei
tâmahim acchaü iaru jaṇu suaṇu vi antarudei,

"As long as [your] circumstances in life go badly (literally 'as long as a difficult condition of affairs goes in life'), so long, *let alone* (acchaü) the base man, even the good man keeps aloof (literally 'gives an interval')," "Tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris." Kajjagaï = kâryagati, iaru = itara.

have preferred to treat it as a separate stem altogether, and I think this treatment will be found to be to a very great extent justified by the examples from the modern languages which I shall now adduce.

§ 64. Classical Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi, do not retain any traces of this root. M. has, however, a complete verb असू, which we should refer, I think, to this root, resting on the well-known peculiarity of M., by which it changes च्छ, especially when derived from an earlier च, into स (Vol. I. p. 218). The Sanskrit √*as* having in M. become *âhe*, an affiliation concerning which there can be no doubt, we are driven to seek for a different origin for M. *ase*, and we find it appropriately and in full accordance with known phonetic processes in अच्छ. M. has the following tenses :—

1. Aorist—

Sing.	1. असें,	2. असस,	3. असे,
Pl.	1. असूं,	2. असां,	3. असत,

where the terminations exactly correspond with those of the aorist in the ordinary verb.

2. Simple imperative—

Sing.	1. असूं,	2. अस, ऐस,	3. असो.
Pl.	1. असूं,	2. असा,	3. असोत.

3. Simple future—

Sing.	1. असेन,	2. अससील,	3. असेल.
Pl.	1. असूं,	2. असाल,	3. असतोल.

4. Present formed with present participle and Sanskrit substantive verb—

Masc. Sing.	1. असतों,	2. असतोस,	3. असतो.
Pl.	1. असतों,	2. असतां,	3. असतात.

5. Conditional similarly formed. Sing. 3 masc. असता, etc., as in the ordinary verb.

6. Preterite formed with p.p.p. similar to conditional. Sing. 3 masc. असला, etc.

7. Subjunctive formed with future p.p. Sing. 3 masc. असावा, etc.

Oriya comes next, with an aorist of old simple present only, which is thus conjugated—

Sing.	1. अछि,	2. अछु,	3. अछि.
Pl.	1. अछुं,	2. अछ,	3. अछिन्त.

There being no formation from √*as* in O., this tense does duty for the simple "I am, thou art," etc. With lengthening of the first vowel, in accordance with its usual practice, Bengali has a present, and an imperfect; but in modern times the initial long vowel of the latter has been entirely dropped, so that we now have—

Present	Sing. 1. आछि,	2. आछिस,	3. आछे "I am," etc.
	Pl. 1. आछि,	2. आछ,	3. आछेन.
Imperfect	Sing. 1. छिनु,	2. छिलि,	3. छिल "I was," etc.
	Pl. 1. छिलाम्,	2. छिला,	3. छिलेन्.

Though used as an imperfect, this latter tense is in form a preterite, corresponding to *dekhinu*, etc., of the regular verb. The loss of the initial *á* is comparatively recent, for it is retained in so late a poet as Bhârat Chandra (A.D. 1711–1755). आछिल बिस्तर ठाट प्रथम वयेसे "She was (*i.e.* had been) very wanton in her youth" (Bidya-S. 246). It is common enough, also, in the other Bengali poets, जे ताल वेताल सिद्ध आछिल तोमार "What vicissitudes were experienced by you" (Kasi-M. 284), and the poets of the present day freely permit themselves the use of this form as a poetic licence when their metre requires it.

Passing westwards from Bengal, we come to the extreme

eastern limits of Hindi, in the Maithila province (Tirhut, Purnia, etc.), where the rustic dialect has the following present:

Sing. 1. छूं, 2. छु, 3. छे. Pl. 1. छूं, 2. छूं, 3. छें.

It has also a feminine singular छी, plural छीं, uninflected for person.

Close to the Bengali frontier, near the junction of the Mahanandâ and Kankai rivers, they speak a curious sort of mixture of Hindi and Bengali, and have a present—

Sing. 1. छि, 2. छिस, 3. छइ. Pl. 1. छि, 2. छें, 3. छे.

Further west, in the same district, one hears—

Sing. 1. छी, 2. छं, 3. छइ. Pl. 1. छि, 2. छां, 3. छाइ.

In Bhojpuri, for the present is often heard खे, which is unchanged throughout both persons. This widely-used form seems to confirm the supposition of the derivation from अच्, for च changes both to छ and to ख.

From the Himalayan districts of Kumâon and Garhwâl, Kellogg (p. 201) gives a present of this verb, and it is in use in Eastern Rajputana. It is also the ordinary substantive verb in Gujarati—

	SINGULAR.		
Kumâon.	1. छौं, छूं	2. छै	3. छ.
Garhwâl.	1. छौं	2. छ, छै	3. छ.
E. Rajputana.	1. छूं	2. छि	3. छै.
Gujarati.	1. छुं	2. छे	3. छे.
	PLURAL.		
Kumâon.	1. छूं, छों	2. छा	3. छन, छीं.
Garhwâl.	1. छौं, छवाऊं	2. छन, छयाई	3. छन.
E. Rajputana.	1. छां	2. छो	3. छै.
Gujarati.	1. छइये	2. छो	3. छे.

The first and third of these have also a preterite participle

in type like most of the preterites. Thus in Kumâon they say sing. छियो, pl. छिया or छियां, which seems to point to a Skr. p.p.p. अचित = Pr. अच्छियो. In Eastern Rajputana there is sing. छो, pl. छा.

Although modern classical Hindi does not use this root, yet it is found with the initial vowel in the shape of an indeclinable present participle in the old poets, as in Tulsi's Ramayan—

आप अछत जुवराज पद रामहि देउ नरेस

"Thyself remaining, give the heir-apparentship to Ram, O king!"
—Ay-k. 11.

That is, "during thy lifetime," literally "thou being." The dictionary-writers erroneously give this as a Tadbhava from अक्षत, with which it has nothing to do.

It is worthy of consideration whether the forms of the imperfect in P. given in § 60 should not be referred to this root rather than to *as*. The change of छ into स so characteristic of M. would thus find a parallel in Panjabi.

Gujarati has also a present participle indeclinable छतां and छते "(in) being," and declinable छंतो *m.*, ती *f.*, तुं *n.*; pl. छता *m.*, ती *f.*, तां *n.* "being."

§ 65. The compound tenses formed by the addition of this auxiliary are most numerous, as might be expected, in Marathi, that language having a larger range of tenses of the auxiliary itself than the sister-tongues. First, a present habitual is formed by adding the present of the auxiliary to the present participle of the verb, as राहत असतो "he is living," *i.e.* "he habitually resides," लिहीत असतों "I am (always employed in) writing."

Next, a past habitual, by adding the aorist of the auxiliary to the present tense, as बसत असे "he was in the habit of sitting." It will be remembered that in M. the aorist has the sense of a past habitual in modern times. This compound

tense seems to differ very little in meaning from the simple tense.

There is also a compound present of the conditional, wherein the leading verb is in the present participle and the auxiliary in the conditional present. It is used with जर "if" prefixed, either expressed or understood, as जर काम करीत असता "If he *were doing* the work," पाऊस पडत असता "(If) rain were to fall (as it is now falling)." The same tense of the auxiliary, when used with the past participle, serves as a conditional preterite, as पडला असता "he would have fallen (if, etc.)."

With the preterite of the auxiliary and the present participle of the leading verb is constructed a present dubitative, as तो जात असला तर तें काम त्याला सांगा "If he *should be going*, then entrust this affair to him." Similarly, with the same part of the auxiliary and the past participle of the leading verb is made a past dubitative or pluperfect, as तो आला असला तर "Should he have arrived, then, etc."

So, also, with the future participle and the past auxiliary, as जर तो जाणार असला तर मला सांग "Should he be about to go, then tell me."

The future of the auxiliary also forms three tenses with the present, past, and future participles of the leading verb respectively. It is difficult to give these tenses any definite name; the senses in which they are employed will be seen from the following examples:—

1. Present participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

   तुझा बाप तुझी वाट पाहत असेल "Your father *will be waiting* for you" (*i.e.* is probably now expecting you; *vâṭa pâhat*="looks at the road," idiomatic for "expects").

2. Past participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

   तो आला असेल "He will have come" (*i.e.* "has probably arrived by this time").

3. Future participle of verb + future of auxiliary—

मी लिहिणार असेन "I may be now going to write" (*i.e.* "I shall probably be writing presently").

The above is a fair illustration of the remark which I have frequently made before, that the modern verb, while throwing aside all the intricacies of the synthetical system of tenses, still manages to lose nothing of its power of expressing minute shades of meaning. On the contrary, by its almost unlimited power of forming compound tenses, it obtains a fullness and delicacy of expression, which even the synthetic verb cannot rival. Indeed, this fullness is at times somewhat embarrassing, for the subtle distinctions between one tense and another are very difficult to grasp, and, as might be expected, careless or uneducated speakers are unable to observe them accurately. The minute analysis of these various tenses belongs to the domain of syntax rather than to that of formlore, and a very long dissertation might be written upon the numerous shades of meaning involved in each one of them. The selection, for instance, of the different parts of the leading verb and auxiliary depends, to a great extent, upon the method of reasoning employed unconsciously by the speaker. These compound tenses are, in fact, rather phrases than tenses, and much depends upon whether the speaker regards the action as already past, or as actually being done with reference to the rest of the sentence. When we translate one of these phrases into English, or any other language, we do not really translate, but substitute our own way of expressing the idea for the native way. A literal word-for-word translation would be almost unintelligible. Thus, in the sentence above, *Râm jât asalâ, tar tẽ kâm tyâlâ sângâ*, the words are actually, "Ram going was, then that affair to him tell," where the speaker, as it were, pictures to himself that his messenger, after receiving orders, goes to Ram and finds that he was just going, and therefore

tells him the affair. Complicated and of course unconscious undercurrents of thought like this underlie much of the elaborate mechanism of the compound tenses in all our seven languages, and we often find natives of India who can speak English composing in our language elaborate sentences of this sort, to the entire disregard of our English idioms, because they think in Hindi or Marathi, and then translate the idea into English. This fact, which all observant Englishmen who have lived long in India must have noticed, lies at the root of much of the difficulty which our countrymen experience in making themselves understood by natives. They think in English, and render word for word into Hindi or Marathi; thus probably producing a sentence which means something widely different from what they intended. It is the same with all foreign languages; until a man learns to *think* in the foreign language, and utter his thoughts in the shape that they have in his mind, he can never hope to speak idiomatically. In seeking to explain the compound tenses of the modern Indian verb, therefore, it is necessary to analyze the connection and sequence of mental impressions to which they owe their origin, a task for the metaphysician, and not for the student of comparative philology.

Gujarati has also a plethora of compound tenses, but they are less complicated than Marathi, perhaps because the language has been less cultivated. In the simpler languages delicate *nuances* of expression do not exist, and if one wishes to translate any such phrases into one of these simple languages, it must be done by a long string of sentences. Thus, in trying to exact from a wild forester of the Orissa hills an answer to the question, "Did you know that Ram had run away before you went home or afterwards?" one has to go to work in this way, "Ram fled?" Answer, *ho!* (Yes). "You knew that fact?" *ho!* "You went home?" *ho!* "When you reached home they told you 'Ram is fled,' thus?" answer *ná! ná!* (No! No!).

"When you did not go home, before that, they told you?" *ho!* So to get out the meaning of the Marathi sentence quoted above, "If he should be going, then entrust this affair to him," one would have to say, "Near him you having gone, he 'I am now going' having said, this word having heard this matter to him you will tell." Perhaps in citing an Orissa wild man of the woods, I am taking an extreme case; but the remarks will hold good, more or less, for all the peasantry and lower classes all over India, and it must be remembered that the expression "lower classes" means in India eight-tenths of the whole population.

The compound tenses formed with the auxiliary છે in G. are the following:—

1. Definite present; aorist of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as કરે છે "he does."

Sometimes both verb and auxiliary lose their final vowel, as કર છ for કરે છે "thou dost," કરે છ "he does." કરો છ for છો "ye do," etc.

2. Definite preterite; p.p. of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as આપ્યો છે "he has given," active used in *karma* construction with instrumental of subject. તેણે કામ બજાવેલું છે "he has performed the work;" neuter in *kartâ*, as હું ચડ્યો છું "I have ascended."

3. Another definite preterite with the second form of the p.p. in *elo*, as ચડેલો છું "I have ascended." There seems to be no great difference of meaning between this and the last.

4. Definite future; future participle of verb + aorist of auxiliary, as ખાનારો છે "he is about to eat."

5. Another tense with the second form of the fut. part. in *vâno*, as હું કરવાનો છું "I am going to do." The uninflected form of the future participle in *ár* may also be used, as તું શું કરનાર છે "What art thou going to do?" These definite futures differ from the simple future in implying intention and

definite purpose, much as in German *er will thun* differs from *er wird thun*.

The auxiliary छे is sometimes also used after another auxiliary derived from *bhú*, as छोडतो होय छे "he is (now) loosing." Of the tenses so formed more will be said further on.

It seems from comparing the examples given of these tenses that there is not for each one of them a distinct special meaning, but that they are used somewhat vaguely, the auxiliary being added or omitted at pleasure. This is certainly the case in Hindi, as will be seen below; and in the poets, who are our only guides for the mediæval period, metrical necessities, rather than any desire to bring out a particular shade of meaning, appear to determine which form shall be used.

Those dialects of Hindi which possess tenses from this root, use them also as auxiliaries.[1] Eastern Rajputana has the definite present formed by the two aorists, that of the verb and that of the auxiliary, मारूं छूं "I am beating," also a preterite composed of the p.p. of the verb and aorist of auxiliary, as मार्यो छै "I have beaten." There seems to be some anomaly in this latter, for in the preterite of the active verb छै is added to all six persons, whereas, when used with the substantive verb हो "be," the auxiliary is participial sing. छो, pl. छा. Perhaps we hardly know enough of these rustic forms as yet to be able to draw accurate distinctions.

Garhwali forms its definite present from the present participle and the aorist मारदो (or मारदू) छौं "I am beating;" and its preterite in the same way from the p.p. and aorist मारे छ "he has beaten," मारा छन "they have beaten." So does Kumaoni, present मारनु छूं, preterite मारो छ; but in these, also, there is still room for more accurate analysis, and a wider range of observations requires to be made in remote and little known parts of the country.

[1] Kellogg, Grammar, p. 240.

Bengali has four well-defined tenses. The definite present and imperfect are formed respectively by incorporating the aorist and imperfect of the auxiliary into one word with the locative case of the present participle, thus—

Def. Present দেখিতেছি "I am seeing" (dekhite + âchhi).

Def. Imperfect দেখিতেছিনু "I was seeing" (dekhite + [â]chhinu).

In the latter of these tenses the 1 pl. has in ordinary speech to a great extent usurped the place of the 1 sing., and we more frequently hear—

দেখিতেছিলাম্ "I was seeing" (dekhite + [â]chhilâm).

By incorporating the same tenses of the auxiliary into one word with the conjunctive participle (see § 73), it forms a definite preterite and a pluperfect, as

Def. Preterite দেখিয়াছি "I have seen" (dekhiyâ + âchhi).

Pluperfect দেখিয়াছিনু "I had seen" (dekhiyâ + âchhinu).

Here, also, দেখিয়াছিলাম is common for 1 sing. Wonderful corruptions occur in pronunciation in these tenses: ছ loses its aspirate and becomes চ, so that we hear for করিতেছে a word that sounds *körche*, and may be written করচে, for হইতেছে "is" vulgo *höche* (হচে), for দেখিয়াছে *dekhiche* (দেখিচে), and for দেখিয়াছিলাম *dekhichilĕm*, or *dekh'chilĕm* (দেখিচিলেম?). So also for চালিতেছে "goes" *chalöche* (চলচে). These forms are freely used in conversation by educated persons, and some recent authors of comic novels and plays introduce them into the mouths of their characters. The same remark applies to all tenses of the verb, and it is a curious subject for speculation, whether the growth of literature will arrest the development of these forms, or whether they will succeed in forcing their way into the written language, and displace the longer and fuller forms now in use. If the latter event takes place, we shall see enacted before our eyes the process of simplifica-

tion which has been so fertile a cause of the formation of the present types in the whole neo-Aryan group. I anticipate, however, that the purists, aided by the conservative influence of a literature already copious, will ultimately carry the day against the colloquial forms.

Oriya has the four tenses corresponding to Bengali, but only two of them are formed with the auxiliary we are now discussing, the definite present and the definite preterite—

Def. Present କରୁ ଅଛି "I am doing" (pres. part. *karu* "doing").

Def. Preterite କରି ଅଛି "I have done" (p.p. *kari* "done").

Here, also, colloquially, the auxiliary is generally incorporated with the verb, and they say କରୁଛି and କରିଛି respectively. In the south of the province, also, the older form of the present participle in ଉଁ prevails, and one hears କରୁଁଛି "he is doing," and contracted ଜଁଛି "he is."

§ 66. *BHŪ.* This widely-used root took as early as the Pali and Prakrit period the form *HO*; and in that form it has come down to modern times. As the ordinary substantive verb "to be," it has a full range of tenses in all the languages, and it not only serves as an auxiliary, but takes to itself the tenses of the other auxiliaries like any other verb. In the latter capacity it need not here be discussed, as the remarks which have been made concerning the ordinary verbs will apply to this verb also.

Although *ho* is the general form of this root in all the Indian languages, yet there are one or two exceptions in which the initial *bh* is retained. In Pali, both *bhavati* and *hoti* are found for 3 sing. pres., *abhavâ* and *ahuvâ* impf., *bhavatu* and *hotu* impt., and in Sauraseni Prakrit we find *bhodu*=*bhavatu*, *bhavia* =*bhûtvâ*, and the like. Distinct traces of the retention of the *bh* are still in existence in some rustic dialects of Hindi, and in the old poets. In the latter, a p.p.p. sing. भयौ *m.*, भई *f.*, pl. भए, is extremely common, used alone as a preterite, or with the

verbal endings, as भयेउ, भयउ, etc. It is also contracted into भौ; and in the modern form भया "was," may be heard commonly in the mouths of the lower orders all over the Hindi area of the present time. This form presupposes a Pr. भविओ = a Skr. भवित, with elision of the व, and य called in to fill up the hiatus. I give from Kellogg the dialectic forms (Gr. p. 236)—

SINGULAR.

Kanauji.[1]	1. 2. 3. भयो *m.*, भई *f.*		
Braj.	*id.* भयौ *m.*, *id.*		
Old-Pûrbi.	1. भयउं *m.*, भा, भइउं *f.*	2. भयउ *m.* भइ *f.*	3. भयउ *m.*, भा भइ *f.*
Avadhi.	1. भयेउं *m.*, भवा, भयिउं *f.*	2. भयेस *m.* भयिसि *f.*	3. भवा, भया *m.* भइ, भै *f.*
Riwâi.	1. 2. 3. भा, भ.		
Bhojpuri.	1. भोइली, भैली,	2. भैल,	3. भैलस, भैल.

PLURAL.

Kanauji.[1]	1. 2. 3. भए *m.*, भईं *f.* (also भये *m.*).		
Braj.	*id.*		
Old-Pûrbi.	1. भये, भे *m.* भईं *f.*	2. भये, भयेऊ *m.* भईं, भईंऊ *f.*	3. भये, भे *m.* भईं *f.*
Avadhi.	1. भये *m.* भै *f.*	2. भये *m.* भयिउ *f.*	3. भयें *m.* भयेनि *f.*
Riwâi.	1. 2. 3. भयेन, भयेन्ह.		
Bhojpuri.	1. भोइलीं, भैलीं,	2. भैलह,	3. भैलन्.

The verbal affixes are the same as those in the ordinary verb explained at § 33. Chand uses the same form as in Braj and

[1] Kanauji may be taken to mean the speech of the country between the Ganges and Jumna, the heart of the Hindi land; Braj, that of the right bank of the Jumna; Old-Pûrbi, of the country north of the Ganges from the Gandak river eastwards; Avadhi, that of Oudh (Avadh); Riwâi, of the country south of the Ganges and between the Chambal and the Son rivers. Braj and Old-Pûrbi are the dialects in use in the mediæval poets generally.

Kanauji, thus भयौ कोटि तामस तांम ॥ "He *became* violently disturbed with anger" (Pr. R. i. 48), अनंगपाल भयौ राज ॥ "Anangapâl *became* King" (iii. 17), पुब्ब कथा ज्यौं भई । सनौ लुं कहौं अपुब्बह ॥ "How the former matter *happened*, listen while I tell the wonderful tale" (iii. 15), पुत्र होत भई मृत्य ॥ "While the son was being (born), she *became* dead" (i. 170), भए आदि अंत कविता जिते । "As many poems as *have been* (written) first and last" (i. 10), भए विकल लोग घाइल उ ताप ॥ "The folk *became* distressed, (being) wounded and heated" (xxi. 5). Contracted मन भौ हास करुन पुनि आइय ॥ "Laughter *became* (arose) in her mind, then after pity came" (iii. 10). The use of this tense is so common in Chand as to supersede the other form of the preterite हुआ to a great extent.

A few examples may be added from Kabir: दुतिया नाम पारबति भयऊ । तप करता संकर को दयऊ ॥ "Her second name *was* Pârvati, the ascetic (*i.e.* Daksha) gave her to Śankara" (Ram. 26, 5), येके पुरुष येकहै नारी ।, ततिंरचिनियान भौ चारी ॥ "One male (energy), one female, from them *were produced* four kinds of living beings" (*ib.* 6), एक अंड ओंकार ते यह सब जग भयौ पसार "From one egg, the word *Om*, all this world *has been* created" (*ib.* 8). In these three quotations all three forms of the participle are used side by side.

Tulsi Das does not confine himself to Old-Pûrbi forms, but uses, also, those classed above under Braj, as भयौ बहोरि भयौ तेहि खारा "It filled again and thus *became* salt (*i.e.* the sea)" (Lanka-k. 3), सेतुबंध भइ भीर अति । "The Setubandh *became* very crowded" (*ib.* 10). But the Pûrbi form is more common, as in माथ नाइ पूछत अस भयऊ "Bowing his head, thus he *was* asking" (Kis-k. 2), करि दंडवत कहत अस भयऊ "Making salutation, thus he *was* saying" (Ar-k. 259). The contracted form is also very common, as भे मन मुदित पाइ प्रिय साधू । "He became (or was) enraptured at meeting with the beloved" (Ay-k. 441).

Closely connected with the Bhojpuri भेल is the form भेल, used by the half-Bengali half-Maithil poet Bidyapati, as in शून भेल मन्दिर शून भेल नगरी ॥, शून भेल दशदिश शून भेल सगरी ॥ "Empty *has become* the temple, empty has become the city, empty have become the ten regions, empty has become everything!" (Pr. K.S. 118), कोकिल कलरवे मति भेल भोरा। "From the sound of the koil's notes my mind has become distracted" (*ib.* 120). It does not vary for gender or person.

I am not aware of the existence in any of the other languages of this type with the initial *bh*. It is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, confined to the rustic Hindi dialects mentioned above. In all other respects Hindi keeps to the type *ho*, like the cognate languages.

The aorist has the following forms:—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Hindi.	1. होऊं	2. होए	3. होए.	1. होएं	2. होओ	3. होएँ.
P.	1. होवां	2. होवें	3. होवे.	1. होये	2. होवो	3. होण.
S.	1. ऊआं	2. ऊएँ	3. ऊए.	1. ऊं	2. ऊओ	3. ऊअनि.
G.	1. होउं	2. होय	3. होय.	1. होऽये	2. होओ	3. होय.
M.	1. होईं	2. होईस	3. होई.	1. होऊं	2. ऊं	3. होईत.
O.	1. होएं	2. हेउ	3. ऊए.	1. हेउं	2. ऊअ	3. ऊअंति.
B.	1. हइ	2. हउ	3. हय.	1. हइ	2. हओ	3. हन.

In Hindi this tense, as mentioned before, is frequently used as a potential in all verbs, and especially so in *ho*, where, owing to the existence of an aorist with signification of "I am," etc., from *as*, the tense derived from *ho* is more usually employed to mean "I may be." The Pârbatia or Nepali dialect also uses this tense as a potential, thus—

Sing. 1. हौं, 2. होस, 3. हो. Pl. 1. हौं, 2. हौ, 3. ऊन.

Several peculiarities call for notice in this tense. In classical Hindi there is the usual diversity of practice always observed in stems ending in *â* or *o*, as regards the method of joining the

terminations. Thus we have for 1 sing. हौं in addition to होऊं; 2 and 3 sing. are written होए, होय, होवे, and हो; 1 and 3 pl. होएं, होंय, होवें, हों; 2 pl. हो as well as होओ, which makes it identical with the same person in the aorist of *as*.

Dialectically the chief peculiarity, which, like most dialectic forms, is merely an archaism preserved to modern times, consists in the hardening of the final *o* of *ho* into *v*. This is observable in the Rajputana dialects, and partially also in that of Riwâ (Kellogg, p. 233).

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Rajp.	1. ड्वेऊं	2. ड्वै	3. ड्वै	1. ड्वैआं	2. ड्वैओ	3. ड्वै.
Riwâi.		2. ड्वास	3. ड्वाय.		2. ड्वाव	3. ड्वायं.

This peculiarity is more marked in the simple future noted below. It also occurs in M., where the aorist, as shown above, when used as a past habitual = "I used to be," takes the terminations of the active verb; but when used as a simple present, those of the neuter, as—

Sing. 1. होय 2. होस 3. होय. Pl. 1. ह्वों 2. ह्वां 3. होत.

The same combination occurs throughout this tense when used negatively = "I am not," as—

Sing. 1. नव्हें 2. नव्हेस 3. नव्हे.
Pl. 1. नव्हों 2. नव्हां 3. नव्हेत (नव्हत).

and in other parts of the verb affirmative and negative.

In Sindhi this root is throughout shortened to *hu*, and when the vowel is lengthened by the influence of affixes, it becomes *hû*, rarely *ho*, except in poetry, where 3 sing. होइ is met instead of ऊए. The *j*, which in some forms of Prakrit is inserted between the stem and its termination, appears here also, as—

Sing. 1. ऊजां 2. ऊजें 3. ऊजे. Pl. 1. ऊजूं 2. ऊजो 3. ऊजनि.

Oriya sometimes shortens *o* to *u*, but in that language the distinction in pronunciation between these two vowels is so

slight that in writing also the people often confuse the two. In a great part of this verb, however, the *o* is changed to a very short *e*. This is generally, but not always, due to a following *i*, where, from the shortness and indistinctness of the *o*-sound, *o* + *i* = a + i = ai = e. Thus 2 sing. is in full हेउ, though generally pronounced *ho*. In Bengali the *o* is generally written *a*, that vowel having in B. usually the sound of short, harsh *o*, like the *o* in English *not*, *rock*, etc. Thus it comes to pass that हय and हन may be regarded, either as shortened from होय and होन respectively, and thus derivable from *ho*, or as equivalents of H. है and हैं, and so to be referred to *as*. In practice, certainly, the meaning in which they are used favours the latter hypothesis.

The imperative in H. is the same as the aorist, except 2 sing., which is simply हो "be thou." In the Rajput dialects the 2 sing. is ह्वै, 2 pl. होवो; the former occurs also in Chand as a 3 sing. in सब बोलि कह्यो ह्वै सिद्धि सिद्धि ॥ "All speaking, said, 'May there be success, success!'" (i. 178) The Riwa dialect has 2 sing. ह्वास, 2 pl. ह्वाव, like the present.

P. 2 sing. हो, 2 pl. होवो. S. has 2 sing. हो and होउ, 2 pl. हो and ह्रओ. G. for 2 sing. and 2 pl. both हो.

M.	Sing.	1. होऊं	2. हो	3. होवो, होऊ.
O.	„	1. ह्रएं	2. हो	3. हेउ.
B.	„		2. होउ, हउ	3. हउक.
M.	Pl.	1. होऊं	2. ह्वा	3. होवोत, होऊत.
O.	„	1. हेउं	2. ह्रअ	3. हेउंतु.
B.	„		2. हउ	3. हउन्.

The respectful form of the imperative follows that of the other verbs in the various languages. H. here inserts ज, making होजिये "be pleased to be," G. होजे.

Nepali has somewhat abnormally 2 sing. हस, 2 pl. होस.

The simple future in G. is formed according to the usual

rule; but here again we meet the tendency so common in B. and O., to express the *o* sound by *a*, so that side by side with the regular forms होईग, होगे, etc., we have also sing. 1. हईग, 2. हगे, 3. हगे; pl. 1. हईगुं, 2. हगो, 3. हगे, which we must apparently pronounce *hötsh*, *höshe*, etc.

The simple futuro in old and rustic Hindi is regularly formed, as होइहौं "I shall become," etc.; but in this tense the employment of the type ह्वै is very common, both in the poets and among the peasantry of the western area. Thus—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Braj.	1. ह्वैहौं	2. ह्वैहै	3. ह्वैहै.	1. ह्वैहैं	2. ह्वैहौ	3. ह्वैहैं.
West Rajp.	1. ह्वैहूं	2. ह्वैही	3. ह्वैही.	1. ह्वैहां	2. ह्वैहो	3. ह्वैही.

We have also the curious transitional form of East Rajputana which approaches so closely to G.—

Sing.	1. ह्वैसूं, ह्वैसूं	2. ह्वैसी	3. ह्वैसी.
Pl.	1. ह्वैसां, ह्वैसां	2. ह्वैसो, ह्वैसो	3. ह्वैसो.

Further details of these dialectic forms will be found in Kellogg's admirable grammar. When the wilder parts of the country, at present little known to Europeans, shall have been more fully explored, we may expect to obtain many finer gradations of transition; for all over India the Gujarati proverb holds true, "Every twelve *kos* language changes, as the leaves change on the trees."

The Braj form is interesting to students from the fact of this dialect having become at an early date the traditional literary vehicle of the Krishna-*cultus*, and thus to a certain extent a cultivated classical language. Its forms, however, are found in Chand long before the revival of Vaishnavism. He uses the full form होइहै, a shortened form होहि, and the Braj ह्वैहै. Also occasionally होइ in a future sense, which is probably a form of the 3 sing. aorist for होए (हुए). Examples are प्रलै होइहै तिन वंसह ॥ "His race *shall become* extinct" (Pr.-R. iii.

29), होहि जदवनि सपूतह ॥ "Tho Jadavani *shall be* with child" (i. 249), दिवस पंच कै अंतरै । होइ सु दिल्ली पति ॥ "In the space of five days, he *shall become* lord of Dilli" (iii. 411), ह्वआ न और ह्वैहै न कोइ । "There has not been, and there *shall not be*, any (like him)" (i. 331).

To Tulsi Das, Kabir, Bihari Lal, and all the mediæval poets होइहै, होइहि, होहि, and होई are the forms of the ordinary regular future; होगा is very rarely met in their pages, if at all. Instances are, भये जे अहहिं जे होइहैं आगे । "They who have been, are, and shall be hereafter" (Tulsi, Ram. Bal-K. 30), होइहि यही कल्याण अब । "Now this good fortune will be (will happen)" (*ib.* 82), अब तें रति तव नाथ कर होइहि नाम अनङ्ग । "Henceforth, Rati, tho name of thy lord shall be Ananga" (*ib.* 96). The form ह्वैहै does not appear to be used by Tulsi Das, though in Bihari Lal the participle ह्वै is common; this latter poet's subject does not give much occasion for the use of the future. बहुरि जनम न होइहै ताको "There shall not again be birth to him (he shall escape the pain of a second birth)" (Kabir, Ram. 57). In the majority of the poets the forms *hvai* and *hoi* seem to be regarded as virtually the same, and they use indifferently the one or the other as it suits their metre. There is unfortunately as yet no critically prepared or corrected edition of the texts of any of them, and owing to the mistaken policy of the Government, by which artificial works written to order have been prescribed as examination tests, the genuine native authors have been entirely neglected.

§ 67. The participial tenses are formed as in the ordinary verb. The present participle is in Old-H. ङवंत, as in Chand हसन ङवंत निवारि "Laughing *being* prevented" (Pr.-R. i. 6). In modern H. the classical form is होता *m.*, होती *f.*, Braj होतु; and in most of the rustic dialects simply होत indeclinable. In the Rajputana dialects the form ह्वेतो is found. The other languages have P. ह्वंदा, S. ह्वंदो, G. होतो, M. होत, होतां,

होतांना, O. हेउ, B. होइते, though really the locative of a present participle is used as an infinitive.

The past participle is in H. one of the old Tadbhava class mentioned in §§ 46, 47, and as such takes its type from Skr. भूत, H. हुआ. The vowel of the stem is in the present day commonly pronounced short हुआ, and this practice is not uncommon in the poets. P. होइआ, S. हुओ, G. होओ, होयो, होयलो.

M. has a strange participle झाला, which may be explained as phonetically resulting from an older form ह्याला, shortened from होयाला. I can trace nothing similar in any of the cognate languages, though the change from ह्य to झ is perfectly regular. In the poets a form जाला is found, and even जाहाला. These types have led some writers to regard this participle as derived from the root या. This, however, is very doubtful. Tukaram always uses जा°, as आजि पुरले नवस । धन्य जाला हा दिवस ॥ "To-day our vows are heard, blessed *has become* (is) this day" (Abh. 508).

O. होइ, हेला, B. होइल, हइल.

The future participle is in M. हावा, O. हेब, B. हइब, contracted to हब (hŏbŏ).

These participles serve as tenses, either with or without the remains of the old substantive verb, just as in the regular verb, and need not be more particularly illustrated.

One point, however, deserves a passing notice. The present participle in M. forms with the aid of the substantive verb *as* a regular present, as 3 sing. होतो *m.* होती *f.* होतें *n.* But the slightly different form of this tense, which in the ordinary verb (§ 42) expresses the conditional present, is in the case of *ho* employed as an imperfect. Thus, while the form just given, *hoto*, etc., means "he becomes," the conditional form *hotá*, etc., means "he was." This usage is analogous to that of the G. *hato*, etc., mentioned in § 40., and agrees with a form of preterite used in Braj Hindi, sing. हुतो *m.*, हुती *f.* etc. It has been

suggested that this latter is derived from Skr. भूत; but against such a derivation must be set the fact that *bhûta* had at a very early epoch lost its *t* and become in Pr. *hûam*, *hoïam*, and the like; also that in Chand the *anusvâra* of the present participle is still preserved, as in दुज ऊंतो दुजनिय भोर। (Pr.-R. i. 49), "Brahman *became* to Brahman hostile;" and a few lines further on in the same passage इक ऊंतो सिंगिय रिष्य "There *was* one Śringa Ṛishi."

§ 68. The tenses of the regular verb formed by the additions of parts of the verb *ho* are numerous, but vary in the different languages. In Hindi we have mostly tenses with a general sense of doubt or contingency, in which those compounded with the present participle run parallel to those formed with the past participle. Thus with गिरता "falling," and गिरा "fallen" (*gir* "to fall")—

1. गिरता होऊं (aorist of *ho*) "I may be falling," which may be called a definite present subjunctive or contingent; as in answer to a question हमारे घर को जाते "Are you going to my house?" one might answer जाता होऊं "I may be going (but am not sure)."

2. गिरता हूंगा (future of *ho* shortened from होऊंगा) "I shall or must be falling," a future contingent, or doubtful; as in asking राम अबही आता है "Is Ram coming now?" the reply is, हां आता होगा "Yes, he will be coming," or, "he must be coming," *i.e.* "I suppose he is now on his way here."

3. गिरता होता "(If) I were falling," conditional present definite. This is very rarely used, but it seems to denote a phase of action which could not, when occasion requires, be otherwise expressed. It may be illustrated thus: राम जदि भागता होता तो मैं उसको रोकता "If Ram were now running away, I would stop him" (but as he is not, there is no need for me to do so). It is the present participle of the auxiliary used in a conditional sense, as in the simple verb.

4. गिरा होऊं "I may have fallen." Also somewhat rare. In answer to तुम ने उसके नाम कबही सुना "Have you ever heard his name?" one might say सुना होऊं "I may have heard it" (but have now forgotten it).

5. गिरा हूंगा "I must or shall have fallen." This is a very commonly used tense. Thus ऊआ होगा is a frequent answer where a person is not sure, or does not care; and is almost equivalent to "I dare say," "very likely," "I shouldn't wonder." Also, it indicates some degree of certainty, as राम ने संवाद पाया है "Has Ram received the news?" Answer, पाया होगा "He will have received it," meaning "Oh yes, of course he has," or with a different inflection of voice, "I dare say he has."

6. गिरा होता "(If) I had fallen." Hardly ever used, except in a negative sentence. I do not remember to have heard it in conversation; though an analogous form with the participle of रह may be heard in eastern Hindi, as तुम जदि कल्ह आए रहते "If you had come yesterday." The only instance Kellogg gives is apparently from a translation of the Bible (John xv. 22) जो मैं न आया होता उन का पाप न होता "If I had not come . . . they had not had sin."

Panjabi makes a somewhat different use of the tenses of *ho*. In this language *ho*, when used as an auxiliary, has rather the sense of continuance in an act, than that of doubt or contingency. Thus we find the ordinary definite present जांदा है "He is going," side by side with a continuative present with *ho*, जांदा ऊंदा है "He kept on going;" also, "He is in the habit of going." So, also, there is a continuative imperfect जांदा ऊंदा सा "He kept on going," "He was always going." Similarly, there are two forms of the future, one with the simple future of *ho* (like No. 2 in Hindi given above) जांदा होवेगा "He will probably be going," and a continuative form containing *ho* twice over, जांदा ऊंदा होवेगा "He will probably be always going." Thus, to the question उह कितनाकु चिर उथे

रहिंदा होवेगा "How long will he be stopping there?" the answer might be, उथे उह दा घर है उह ता सदा सरबदा उथे रहिंदा ऊंदा होवेगा "His home is there, he will probably always be stopping there." With जे "if" prefixed, the tense जांदा ऊंदा means "If I were in the habit of going."

Parallel to the above are two tenses with the aorist of *ho*: जांदा होवां "I may be going," and with "if" prefixed, "If I should be going;" and जांदा ऊंदा होवां "I may be constantly going," "If I should be always going."

With the past participle they combine the present participle of *ho*, as रक्खिआ ऊंदा "I would have put," and conditionally, जे मैं रक्खिआ ऊंदा "If I had put," "If I should have put;" as in उह जे रुपईआ बणीएं दे हत्थ दित्ता ऊंदा तां सानुं मिलिआ ऊंदा "If he had given the money into the care (lit. hand) of the merchant, then we should have got it."

There is also a combination of the past tense with the aorist of *ho*, as गिआ होवे "He may have gone," or, "If he has (perchance) gone."

Colloquially, they frequently also insert होइआ pleonastically in phrases where it is difficult to attach to it any definite meaning. Thus उन घल्लिआ है "he has sent," and घल्लिआ होइआ है "he is having sent." In this latter phrase there is, perhaps, implied the idea of the action having been performed some time ago, and being still in force, so that it harmonizes with the generally continuative meaning of *ho* as an auxiliary in Panjabi. Also, though it is not noticed in the grammar, I remember having heard frequently this word *hoïá*, repeated probably for emphasis, as मारिआ होइआ होइआ "beaten" (repeatedly, or very much indeed).

In Sindhi the present and past participle are both compounded with the aorist of *ho* to form potentials, thus—1. हलंदो ऊए "he may be going;" 2. हलिओ ऊए "he may have gone." There does not appear to be in this language so strong a sense of doubt, or of continuance, in these combinations, as in

H. and P., probably because *ho* plays a more important part in S. than does *as*, which is represented by only one tense, or *achh*, which is not represented at all.

3. हलंदो हो "he was going." This is the present participle of the verb with the preterite of *ho*.

4. हलिओ हो "he had gone." The past participle with the same. These two are exactly parallel.

5. हलंदो हुंदो "he will be going." Definite future, made up of present participle with future of *ho*.

6. हलिओ हुंदो "he will have gone." Past future, the past participle with the same. These two are also exactly parallel.

In the passive phase of active verbs there are also six tenses formed by the same process, whereof 2, 4, and 6 are the same as in the active, or, in other words, these two tenses may be construed either actively or passively, according to the structure of the sentence. Trumpp gives them twice over, probably for this reason:

1. छड़िवो हुए "he may be being released." Future participle passive (§ 51) with aorist of *ho*.

3. छड़िवो हो "he was being released." The same with preterite of *ho*.

5. छड़िवो हुंदो "he will be being released." The same with future of *ho*.

Gujarati employs *ho* in the following tenses (Taylor, p. 92), mostly dubitative (*chaḍ* "ascend"):

1. Present participle + aorist, चडतो होय "he is ascending." Definite present.

2. The same + future, चडतो हशे "he may be ascending." Contingent present.

3. The same + pres. part. indeclinable, चडतो होत "(if) he were ascending." Subjunctive present.

A parallel group with past participle:

1. Past p. + aorist, चड्यो होय "he has ascended." Definite preterite.

2. The same + future, चड्यो हशे "he may have ascended." Contingent preterite.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चड्यो होत "(if) he had ascended." Subjunctive preterite.

The same combinations may be formed with the p.p. in *elo*, as चडेलो होय, but there does not seem to be any very great difference in the meaning.

Also a group with future participle; in the form *vâno* (see § 52)—

1. Fut. p. + aorist, चडवानो होय "he is about to ascend." Definite future.

2. The same + future, चडवानो हशे "he may be about to ascend." Contingent future.

3. The same + pres. p. ind., चडवानो होत "(if) he were about to ascend." Subjunctive future.

An example of the use of the last of these tenses is ते मनें छोडवानो होत तो छोडते "If he were going to (or had intended to) release me, he would have released me (long ago)." Three similar tenses are formed by combining the three above parts of the auxiliary with the participle in *ár* or *áro*, which, as in Marathi, is rather the noun of the agent, and will be discussed further on (§ 75).

Compound tenses in Marathi are formed so largely by the auxiliaries derived from *as* and *achh*, that there is comparatively little left for *ho* to do. It is used in the following tenses:

Imperfect, made up of present part. and imperfect of *ho*, as तो येत होता "he was coming."

"Incepto-continuative" imperfect, as the grammar-writers call it, made from the present part. and the preterite of *ho*, as तो बोलता झाला "he began to speak." This is rarely used.

Future preterite formed by the future participle and imperfect of *ho*, as मी लिहिणार होतों "I was to have written," *i.e.* "It had been arranged that I was to write under certain circumstances." The example given is मी काल आपणा कडे येणार

होतों पण शरीरांत विकृतो झाल्यामुळें घरींच राहिलों "*I was to have called* (yeṇār hotāṇ) on you yesterday, but in my body illness having been (*i.e.* feeling unwell), I stayed at home."

Future continuative composed of the present participle and future of *ho*, as तो बोलता होईल "he will begin to speak (and go on speaking)."

Imperfect subjunctive, from the subjunctive (future pass. part.) and imperfect of *ho* used in the *Karma prayoga*, as त्वां सांगवें होतें "you should have told," lit. "by you to be told it was." This may also be expressed by using पाहिजे "ought," as मला चाललें पाहिजे होतें "I ought to have walked."

Another preterite phrase is formed by adding the imperfect of *ho* to the neuter genitive of the future pass. part., as मला चालायाचें होतें "I had to walk," *i.e.* "I was obliged to walk."

It will be seen that all these instances of the use of *ho* as an auxiliary are rather elaborate verbal phrases than tenses, ingenious and successful attempts at filling up the gap caused by the loss of a large range of synthetical tenses and participles from the earlier stage of language.

This verb is not used as an auxiliary in O. or B., though it is used as an ancillary to form a pedantic sort of passive with Tatsama p.p. participles, as B. प्रेरित होइते, O. प्रेरित हेबा "to be sent." This, however, forms no part of the actual living languages of either Orissa or Bengal, and may be passed over with just this much notice.

§ 69. *STHÁ.* The Pali and Prakrit forms of the various tenses of this verb were given in § 12, where also the principal parts of the verb in S. G. and O. were given. In Hindi there is only one part of this verb in use as an auxiliary, namely, the participial tense *thá* "was," sing. था *m.*, थी *f.*; pl. थे *m.*, थीं *f.*[1]

[1] I had formerly connected this tense *thá* with G. and Braj *hato* and been thus led to refer it to *as*; but further research, aided by the dialectic forms brought to light by Kellogg and others, has led me to abandon that view, and to adopt that given in the text,—*dies diem docet*.

This form is, I believe, shortened from थिओ, and that again from the Skr. p.p.p. स्थित. It is therefore analogous to the shortened forms of other p.p. participles so largely employed in the modern languages. We saw in Vol. II. p. 275, how the genitive postposition *kâ* had been evolved by a long and varied process from Skr. *kṛita*; so, also, *gâ* in the H. and P. future from *gata*, *bhâ* in Old-Hindi from *bhûta*, *lâ* and *la* in M., and other futures from *lagna*; and in exact parallelism to these is *thâ* from *sthita*.

The Kanauji Hindi has sing. थो *m.*, थी *f.*; pl. थे *m.*, थीं *f.*; but the Garhwâli still preserves a fuller type in sing. थयो *m.*, थई *f.*; pl. थया *m.* Nearer still to *sthita*, and with incorporation of the Skr. root *as*, so as to make a regular imperfect, is the Nepali "I was," etc.—

Sing. 1. थियां 2. थिस् 3. थिया. Pl. 1. थियुं 2. थियौ 3. थिया.

Nepali is not an independent language, but merely a dialect of Hindi. The people who speak it call it Pârbatiya or mountain Hindi; it may therefore appropriately be taken into consideration in arguing as to the origin of Hindi forms. था is used in Hindi in two tenses only.

1. With present participle, बोलता था "was speaking." Imperfect.

2. With past participle, बोला था "had spoken." Pluperfect.

In P. सा is occasionally used, though सा, in its numerous forms, is far more common. This verb is also used with a full range of tenses in Sindhi. Trumpp[1] calls it an auxiliary, but I can find no instances of its being used to form tenses of the ordinary neuter or active verb like *as* or *bhû*, and it takes parts of the latter to form its own compound tenses. There are, however, two parts of *sthâ* in use as auxiliaries in Sindhi, the former of which थो probably = स्थितः *nom.*, and the latter

[1] Grammar, p. 305.

थे = स्थिते *loc.* थो agrees with the subject in gender, and is used to form with the aorist an indefinite present—

Sing.	1.	हलां थो *m.*	हलां थी *f.*
Pl.	1.	हलूं था *m.*	हलूं थिऊं *f.*, "I go," etc.

This auxiliary differs from all others in the seven languages, in that it may be put *before* the principal verb. थे has the same peculiarity, and is used to make a continuative imperfect with the past participle of the principal verb; it does not vary for gender or person. Thus—

Sing. 1. हलिउसि थे 2. हलिएं थे.

Pl. 1. हलिआसीं थें, etc., "I used to go," or simply "I was going."

Examples are—

व़ जालूं वार जे लाइ थे विडह्यूं "Two women *were quarrelling* (*the viḍahyūn*) about a child."

हिकिडा व़ जणा परे परडेहि थे विआ "Two men *were going* (*the biā*) to a foreign country."[1]

Here the auxiliary precedes, and with reference to the suggested origin of this auxiliary from the locative *sthite*, it is more natural that it should do so, for the verb, whether in a simple or compound tense, naturally comes last in the sentence, so that the phrase "I am (in the act or condition of) having gone," is rendered "in having been, I am gone."

G. has also the full verb in all its tenses, and it may apparently be used as an auxiliary just as *ho*. As regards meaning, थवुं is more powerful than होवुं; the latter, also, is more powerful than छे. There are thus three grades of substantive verb. छे "he is," is merely the copula; होय "he is, or becomes," is a definite expression of existence; थाय "he remains," is positive and prolonged existence. The distinction,

[1] Stack, Grammar, pp. 134, 135.

as pointed out before, is analogous to that between *ser* and *estar* in Spanish.

थवुं forms compound tenses by taking parts of होवुं as auxiliaries, just as the ordinary verb, thus—

Imperfect थतो हतो, as in ते लढाई थती हती "That fight was going on."

Preterite थयो होय छे, as in तेनुं मन कठण थयुं होय छे "His heart has become hard."

Dubitative present थतो हशे, as in ते हवे पस्तावो थतो हशे "Therefore you may now be regretting," and so on.[1]

In Oriya this verb plays a somewhat different part. It is there used not as a second auxiliary side by side with *ho*, but to the exclusion of it, and forms, with the participles of the principal verb, a range of well-defined tenses, which cannot be expressed otherwise.

1. With the present participle (*kar* "do") କରୁ "doing"—

a. Aorist of *thâ* କରୁ ଥାଏ, karu thâĕ, "he is (or was) doing." Continuative present.

b. Preterite ,, କରୁ ଥିଲା, karu thilâ, "he was doing." Imperfect.

c. Future ,, କରୁ ଥିବ, karu thibŏ, "he will be doing." Continuative future.

2. With the past participle କରି "done"—

a. Aorist of *thâ* କରି ଥାଏ "he has (usually) done." Habitual preterite.

b. Preterite ,, କରି ଥିଲା "he had done." Pluperfect.

c. Future ,, କରି ଥିବ "he will have done." Future past.

The difference between 1*a* and 2*a* is very delicate, and rather difficult to seize. *Karu thâĕ* implies that a person habitually

[1] The examples are from Leckey, Grammar, pp. 76, 81.

does an act, and thus that he was doing it at the time mentioned, according to his usual custom. Thus, to a question **से हाटरे वसु थिला** "Was he sitting in the market?" the answer might be **हां सेठि वसु थाए** "Yes, *he always sits* there;" and thus it is implied that he was sitting there at the time referred to. So again, **कविराज जेते बेळे आसिला मु भलहेउ थाएं** "When the doctor came, *I was getting* well," implying that I had been improving before he came, and continued to do so. *Kari thâĕ*, on the other hand, literally, "He remains having done," implies a habit which is not necessarily in force at the time referred to, as **भारजा प्रति ताहार बड राग होइ थाए** "He is always very angry with his wife," not implying that he is actually angry at the moment of speaking. It is also used of an action which lasted some time, but has now ceased, as **से समयरे अम्भर बड कांश होइ थाए**[1] "At that time I had a bad cough," implying that he had a cough which lasted a long while, but from which he has now recovered. Both tenses thus imply continuity, but the former indicates continuity still existing, the latter continuity in past time, which has now ceased.

There are similarly two imperatives formed respectively with the present and past participles—

a. **करु था** "Remain thou doing."

b. **करि था** "Remain thou having done."

Here, also, the same fine distinction is drawn as in the other tenses. **गोविंद से काम करु थाउ** "Let Gobind go on doing that work." But, as Hallam well remarks (Grammar, p. 153), "The Oriya very often uses a past participle in his mode of thought, where we should use the present."[2] He illustrates this tense

[1] Hallam, Oriya Grammar, p. 78.

[2] I had the advantage of assisting Mr. Hallam when he was writing his grammar, and the definition of this tense was a source of much difficulty and discussion. He consulted a large number of natives, both educated and uneducated, the former as to the *rationale*, and the latter as to the practice. The latter, without knowing the reason why, often corrected *karu thâ* into *kari thâ* instinctively, and a large range of observations led to his adopting the definition in which I have followed him.

thus: "Suppose a person should say to another, 'Do that work *so*,' and the person addressed should reply, 'I have done it *so*,' and the first speaker should then say, 'Well, always do it so,' or, 'Continue to do it so,' this last phrase would be expressed by this tense." Ex. gr.:—

तुमे सेहि काम सेमति कर "Do that work so."

Answer मु सेमति करिछि जे "I have done it so," or, "as (you order) so I have done."

Rejoinder अछ। सेमति करि था "Well, always do so," literally, "thus having done, remain."

Here, if we used *karu thâ*, we should imply that the person addressed was actually doing the work while we were speaking, while *kari thâ* is used when he is not actually working.

Lastly, there is a pair of tenses with the conditional—

करू थांता "he might be doing," or, "if he were doing."

करि थांता "he might have done," or, "if he had done."

These explain themselves.

Bengali does not employ the primary form of this auxiliary, but has instead a secondary stem derived from it. This is थाक्, which is conjugated throughout in the sense of remaining, and partakes of the combined senses of continuity and doubt peculiar to this verb. There are, strictly speaking, no compound tenses formed by this verb, and the method of its employment is rather that of an ancillary verb.

§ 70. *YÁ.* This root takes the form जा, and is used in H. P. M., occasionally in G. and B., and usually in O., to form the passive voice. G. having a passive intransitive of its own (§ 24), does not often have recourse to this verb, and S. having a regularly derived synthetical passive (§ 25), dispenses with it altogether. When used as in H. P. and M. to form a passive,

it is compounded with the past participle of the principal verb, as (*dekh* "see")—

H. Aorist	देखा जाए "he is seen."	P. दिठा जावे.
Imperative	देखा जाओ "be ye seen."	दिठा जावो.
Future	देखा जाएगा "he will be seen."	दिठा जावेगा.

So also in M. and O. The various tenses of जा are formed in the same manner as other verbs. When compounded with any other part of the verb than the past participle, *já* is ancillary, and is used in various other senses.

There has been, in former times, much discussion about this form of the passive, some writers declaring it inelegant, others considering it unusual and opposed to the genius of the Indian languages, while some have even gone so far as to deny its existence altogether. The most discerning inquirers, however, admit it as a form in actual use, though they point out certain circumstances which obviate the necessity for recourse to it. Such are the existence of a large class of neuter verbs, the practice of changing the object into a subject, and figurative expressions like "to eat a beating," *mâr khânâ*, "it comes into seeing," *dekhne men âtâ*, and the like. Speaking as one who has lived in daily and hourly intercourse with natives of India for nearly twenty years, I can testify to the use of this form by speakers of Hindi, Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya frequently, and even habitually. Idiomatically, many other ways of expressing the passive idea undoubtedly exist, and in some languages, as Bengali and Marathi, *ho* may be used to form a passive. There are phrases and occasions, however, where it would be more idiomatic to use the passive *já* than any other construction, and we may conclude that, though its use is somewhat restricted, it is erroneous to describe it as always inelegant and unidiomatic, and still more so to deny its existence altogether.

§ 71. By using the expression "compound tense" in a wider sense than that in which it has been employed in the former part of this chapter, we may legitimately include under it that large and varied class of phrases in which two verbal stems are used together to express one idea. In such a combination the first verb remains unchanged, and all the work of conjugation is performed by the second, which acts, so to speak, as a handmaid to the first. For this second verb I have thought it advisable to employ the term "ancillary," as expressing more clearly than any other that occurs to me, the actual relation between the two. The ancillary verb differs from the auxiliary, in that the former runs through all the tenses of the verb, and the principal verb on which it waits remains unchanged, while the latter only forms certain specified tenses in composition with several parts of the principal verb, being attached now to the present, now to the past or future participle. Thus, the tenses formed by the aid of auxiliaries are integral portions of the primary simple verb. In the case of the ancillary, on the other hand, it, together with the principal verb, forms, in fact, a new verb, which, though consisting of two elements, must be regarded for conjugational purposes as essentially one throughout. Thus, the elements *mâr* "strike," and *ḍâl* "throw," combine into the compound verb *mâr ḍâlná* "to kill," which is conjugated through the whole range of simple, participial, and compound tenses of *ḍâlná*, *mâr* remaining unchanged.

Grammarians have invented many strange names for these verbs with ancillaries, calling them Frequentatives, Inceptives, Permissives, Acquisitives, and many other -ives. It would, perhaps, be simpler not to seek to invent names for all, or any of them, but merely to note the combinations that exist with their meanings. Indeed, it is hardly possible to group them into classes, because, in practice, some ancillaries may be combined with any verb in the language, while others again

can only be combined with one or two specific verbs. Moreover, there are exceptions to the general rule that a verb with an ancillary runs through the whole range of tenses, for some ancillaries are only employed in one tense, or in two tenses; thus *lag*, in Hindi, is usually only employed in the past tense, as *kahne lagâ* "he began to say." Some again are formed in only one tense in one language, while they may be used in several tenses in another language.

The subject is a very wide one, for the number of primary verbal stems in the seven languages being small, they are driven to express complicated ideas by combining two of them together. They have also lost the facility of expressing such ideas which is possessed by most original Aryan languages, through the *upasargas*, or prepositions, and can no longer develope from one simple root a variety of meanings by prefixing *pra*, *abhi*, *upa*, or *sam*. Under such circumstances they have taken a number of their commonest verbs and tacked them on to other verbs, in order to imply that the action expressed by the principal verb is performed under the conditions expressed by the added, or, as we may call it, the ancillary verb. As might be expected, however, while the principle is the same in all seven languages, the method of its application, and the particular ancillaries used, differ, to some extent, in the several languages. It will be better to take each ancillary separately, exhibiting the general effect of each as combined with different parts of the principal verb.

§ 72. Ancillaries may be attached not only to other verbs, but even to themselves; the verb to which they are attached is placed in the conjunctive participle, and remains in that form throughout. Another class, however, exists, in which the principal verb is in the infinitive mood, which, as Kellogg justly observes, is not strictly a case of a compound verb, but

that of one verb governing another, and in this view would more properly be regarded as a matter of syntax. Inasmuch, however, as certain well-known and constantly-used phrases of this kind have grown up in all the languages, whose use, to a great extent, supplies the want of regular tenses, it will be better to give them all here, so as to complete the survey of the modern verb in all its aspects. It must be noted, also, that in Hindi, and occasionally in P. M. and G., the conjunctive participle loses its final syllable, and thus appears in the form of the simple stem; that it is the participle, and not the stem, is shown by the analogy of the other languages, and by isolated instances of the preservation of the participial form even in Hindi.

1. दे "give," and ले "take," are in H. widely used as ancillaries, and the meanings which are obtained by their use are somewhat varied. In a general way, it may be said that *de* is added to verbs to express the idea that the action passes away from the subject towards the object, while *le* implies that the action proceeds towards the subject. Thus *de* can, strictly speaking, be used only with actives and causals; and in some cases adds so little to the meaning of the principal verb, that it appears to be a mere expletive. With active verbs examples are—

फेंकना "to throw,"	फेंक देना "to throw away."
निकालना "to take out,"	निकाल देना "to turn out, eject."

Thus घर से धान निकाला "he took the rice out of the house," where the idea is, that the man being outside went in and brought out the rice; but in मुझ को घर से निकाल दिया है "he has turned me out of the house," it would be understood that the speaker had been forcibly ejected.

रखना "to put,"	रख देना "to put away, lay by."
मारना "to strike,"	मार देना "to beat off."

With causals it is used very frequently, and with scarcely any perceptible change of meaning—

समझाना and समझा देना "to explain."
गिराना „ गिरा देना "to cause to fall, or to throw down,"
बैठाना „ बैठा देना "to seat, or to put into a seat."

Perhaps one can sometimes trace in the form with दे a sense of the action having been done with some force, while in the simple verb the idea of force is wanting, but in the majority of instances no such distinction could be traced. There is occasionally some additional emphasis, as in the common phrases दे दो "give," and ले लो "take," where the ancillary is added to itself, but these expressions belong more particularly to the Urdu side of the language.

When attached to the infinitive of another verb, *de* implies permission, as जाने दो "let (him) go," हम को बैठने दीजिये "please let me sit down."

P. uses *de* in the same way as H., but it does not appear to be so used in Sindhi. In G. it is added to the conjunctive participle of another verb to give emphasis, it also expresses impatience, but, in both cases, like H., with a general idea of the action being from the speaker towards the object. Thus तजवुं "to abandon," तजी देओ "let (it) alone!" "let go!" नाखवुं "to throw," नाखी देओ "throw (it) away!" But as in H., with the infinitive it implies permission, जवुं "to go," जवा देवुं "to allow to go," पडवा देवुं "to let fall," लखवा देवुं "to permit to write."

M. has the same usage of दे; when added to the conjunctive participle it has the same senses as in H., as लिहून देणें "to write," खणून देणें "to dig;" in both of which phrases there is only a little additional emphasis implied, or perhaps an idea of finishing and having done with, as "write it off," "dig it up and have done with it," as in टाकून दे "throw it away."

With the infinitive it implies permission, as मला जाऊं दे "suffer me to go," वारा लिहूं देत नाहीं "the wind will not let me write."

Precisely similar is the usage in O. and B., as O. फिटाइ दिय "break it open," literally, "having caused to open, give;" but with the infinitivo मते आसिवाकु देला नहीं "he would not let me come."

Bengali uses this verb with the conjunctive to imply completeness or emphasis, as पुस्तक देखिया दियाछि "I have seen the book," that is, "I have examined or perused it." With the infinitive it, like the rest, signifies permission, as आमाके पडिते दिलेन ना "They did not allow me to read."

2. ले is in all respects used similarly to दे, but with exactly the opposite meaning, namely, that of the action being directed *towards* the speaker, or the subject. In this construction its meaning is often very slightly different from that of the simple verb. Thus we may say, पीता "he drinks," and पी लेता "he drinks up," or "drinks down," in the latter case implying a more complete action. With causals it is used when the action is towards the subject, as राम को हमारे पास बुला लो "call Ram to me," where the simple verb बुलाना merely means "to call." The distinction between the use of *de* and *le* is well shown when added to रखना "to put;" thus रख लो means "put it away (for your own use)," but रख दो "put it down (and leave it)." There is, as Kellogg has shown, a sense of appropriating a thing to oneself involved in *le*.

P. follows the usage of H., but has less frequent recourse to this ancillary. S. uses निअण, which is the same word as *le*, in the sense of "taking away," which in H. is expressed by ले जाना, as in सांदोर समुंड जे निहोडे निआ "In crossing the ocean they were forcibly carried off" (Trumpp, p. 340). In another instance, however, the meaning is more that of simple taking, माटाए निअण "to bring back," literally, "having caused to return, to take."

In G., the meaning is the same as in H., acquisition, or action towards the speaker or subject, as in समजी लेवुं "to understand," *i.e.* "to make oneself acquainted with," शीखी लेवो "learn (this)," *i.e.* "acquire this knowledge."

M., as before remarked, uses घे, where its sisters have ले. It is used freely in all combinations involving the idea of taking, and seems, like many other ancillaries, to be often used pleonastically. Perhaps, however, we ought to make allowance for the trains of thought which, in the minds of native speakers, underlie the expressions which they use, and, in this view, to admit that an idea of taking may be present to their minds in expressions which, in our mode of thought, would not involve such an idea. It is difficult to get a native to concentrate his mind upon what he is actually saying or doing, he will always mix up with his present speech strange undercurrents of nebulous fancies as to what he did or said last, or what he is going to do or say next, and this habit influences his speech and produces phrases which, to the practical European mind, seem unnecessary and confusing. Thus Molesworth (s.v. घे) reckons as pleonastic the use of this ancillary in लवकर स्नान करून घ्या "quickly having bathed take." Here the word "take" is probably inserted from a feeling that the person addressed is wanted again after he has had his bath. Thus, if you were about to send a man on an errand, and he asked (as a native usually does) to be allowed to bathe and eat first, you might use the above sentence. In Hindi one would use *ânâ* "to come," in the same way, as झट असनान करके आओ. If you did not use some ancillary or other, it might be understood that you did not want the man's services after he had bathed. In another phrase पोरानें हात पोळ्जन घेतला "The child burnt his hand," judging from the analogy of similar phrases in the cognate languages, I feel that if घेतला were not used, the person addressed would be capable of supposing that

the child burnt the whole of his hand up, whereas, what is really meant is, that the child got a burn on his hand.

The O. verb **नेवा** is used as in H., as **कागज पत्र बुझि नेवुं** "I will take charge of the papers and accounts," where he means that he will take them and study them, it is literally "having understood I will take."

So also with B. **लओ**, as **चिटी पडाइया लइलेन** "they took and read the letter."

3. **आ** "come," **जा** "go," as also the cognate stems in the other languages, when used as ancillaries, stand to each other in the same contrast as *le* and *de*. H. **आ** is not very widely used, and principally with neuter verbs; it implies doing a thing and coming back after having done, and thus has a certain sense of completing an action. Thus **बनना** "to be made," **बन आना**, or sometimes colloquially, **बने आना** "to be completely done, successfully accomplished," **खेत को देख आया हूं** "Having seen the field, I am come," *i.e.* "I have been and looked at the field," and he implies, "I have examined it, and am now ready to make terms for the rent of it." The usage is similar in P., though rarely heard.

The equivalent of *á* in S. is **अचणु**, pres. part. **ईंदो** "coming," p.p. **आयो** "come." It is used with the infinitive to mean beginning to do, and this usage is thus different from that of H. and P. Thus **वसणु अचणु** "to come to rain," or, as we should say, "to come *on* to rain," as—

विजूं वसणु आईयूं सारंगु चढिओ सेज ॥

"The lightnings have begun to rain, the rainy season has ascended (his) couch."—Trumpp, p. 344.

G. **आव** is used in the sense of coming into action, or into use, becoming, and is used with the present participle, as **बगडतुं आवतुं** "to become spoilt." But far more frequently **आवी**, the conjunctive participle, takes other ancillaries after it.

ये in M. is also used in a potential sense, but generally, as

far as I can learn, with the indeclinable form of the present participle, and with the subject in the dative case; thus it literally means "to me, to you, etc., it comes to do," as मला जातां येतो "I can go," lit. "to me going comes." Similar to this is the use of *ânâ* in H. as an independent verb, chiefly in negative sentences, as उसको लिखापढी आतो नहीं "He does not know how to read and write," lit. "To him reading-writing comes not." So also in O. and B.

4. जा "go," is used more frequently, and in a wider sense than *â*. In H. it implies completeness or finality, as खाना "eat," खा जाना "eat *up*," चले जाना "go away," where the principal verb preserves the termination of the conjunctive participle. In the familiar compound हो जाना "to become," the ancillary adds a little distinctness to the idea of the principal. So, also, in कह, or कहे, जाना; thus, if a man is hesitating or fumbling over a story or message, you say कहे जाओ, *i.e.* "Speak out!" or "Out with it!"

When added to neuter verbs (especially the double verbs mentioned in § 18), it seems to add no special meaning, and one may say टूटना or टूट जाना "to be broken;" मिलना or मिल जाना "to meet" or "be obtained." Colloquially, and especially in the past tense, the form with *jânâ* is far more commonly heard than that without it; thus, for "it is broken," one hears टूट गया twenty times for once of टूटा. This practice seems to confirm what was conjecturally advanced in § 25, concerning the origin of the use of जाना to form a passive, as compared with the Sindhi passive in *ija*.

Sindhi uses, in a similar way, its stem वञण "go" (impt. वञु, p.p. विओ, pres. p. वींदो, वेंदो), from Skr. √व्रज, Pr. वंच. Thus, वठी वञण "to take off," मरी वञण "to be dead," *i.e* "to go, having died." चढी वञण "to ascend," *i.e.* "to go, having ascended." There is also a phrase in which it is added to खणण "to lift," as खणी वञु "be off!" "go away!" The

general effect of this ancillary may thus be taken to be that of completeness. Trumpp gives the following examples (p. 340): सो जड़िहिं वड़ो तड़िहिं मरी विओ "When he was grown up, then he died" (say "died off"). सूंहनि जो सलाह वठु त वोरि लंघे वञें "Take the advice of the pilots that thou mayst *pass over* (or pass through and escape from) the flood tide."

Completion or finality is also indicated by *jâ* in G., attached to the conjunctive participle, as in H. and P.; when added to the present participle, it implies continuance, as लखतो जा "go on writing."

In M. B. and O., this stem is not used as an ancillary.

5. सक "be able," is attached to the stem-form or apocopated conjunctive participle of all verbs in H. to imply power, as चल सकता "he is able to walk," कर सकेगा "he will be able to do." It is rarely, if ever, used alone in correct speaking, though one sometimes, in the eastern Hindi area, hears such an expression as हम सकेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able." This, however, is probably to be regarded merely as an elliptical phrase for हम कर सकेंगे नहीं "I shall not be able *to do*."

In P. also it is used always as an ancillary, as वाच सकदा है "he is able to read," and is conjugated throughout the verb. In S. the corresponding verb सघणु is used with the conjunctive participle in the same sense, as करे सघणु "to be able to do."

In all these three languages this verb may be added to the inflected form of the infinitive, though in H. and P. this construction is avoided by those who desire to speak elegantly. Still one often hears it, as जाने सकता नहीं "he cannot go," and in the eastern Hindi area it is very common, as well as in the Urdu spoken by Musulmans in all parts of India. Among these latter, indeed, *karne saktâ* is much commoner than *kar saktâ*.

It is used in G. as in H., and may also be used in M., but in this latter language the existence of another method of expressing potentiality (§ 54) renders its use less frequent.

B. and O. do not know this ancillary. In its place they use पार in B. with the infinitive, as करिते पारि "I can do," in O. with the past participle, and generally with the future of the ancillary, as करि पारिबि "I shall be able to do," where we should use the present. Thus in asking, "Can you tell me his name?" one would say ताहार नाम कहि पारिब, literally, "Shall you be able to say his name?"

6. लग "begin" (see § 12). In H. and P. with the infinitive, as देखने लगता "he began to see." The ancillary is mostly used in the preterite, indeed almost exclusively so; for देखने लगता "he begins to see," would be inelegant, and, I believe, quite unidiomatic. S. uses the same construction, as रुअण लगिओ "he began to cry." So also G., as मारवा लागवुं "to begin to strike," and M. with infinitive of the principal verb, as मारूं लागला "he began to strike," but also with the dative of the future passive participle, as करावयास लागला "he began to do." B. the same, as करिते लागिल "he began to do," O. करिबाकु लागिला.

7. चुक "fail," hence "leave off, cease to do." In H. added to the conjunctive part. in the sense of having already finished, as खा चुका "he has done eating," जब खा चुकेगा "when he shall have done eating." P. does not use this verb in this sense. S. uses चुक, as in करे चुकणु "to have finished doing;" but it has also other ways of expressing this idea, as by रहणु "to remain," वठणु "to take," निभणु "to be ended," वसि करणु *id.* G. करी चुकवुं "to have finished doing." B. the same, as दिया चुकियाछि "I have done giving." O. uses सार, as खाइ सारिलि "I have done eating," से कर्म होइ सारिला "That business is quite finished." B. also uses फेल "throw," in this sense, as बलिया फेलिलेन "They have done speaking."

8. Marathi has two verbs not used in the other languages, ठेवणें and टाकणें, which are employed in many senses, and the distinction between which appears to be, at times, hard to draw.

The illustrations given, however, show that each word is faithful to its original meaning; ठेवणें = स्थापनं, and consequently means "put," while टाकणें = त्याग, and means "throw away." These two words stand to each other in the same contrast as ले and दे in H., thus हें कापड घडी करून ठेव "Fold up this cloth and lay it by," ती गाय बांधून ठेव "Tie up that cow" (having tied, put), but त्याची पोथी त्यास देऊन टाक "Give up his book" (*i.e.* "give it him and let him go"), तें झाड उपटून टाक "Root up that tree" (*i.e.* "uproot and throw away").

9. कर "do," is used in the sense of repetition or continuance, in H. with the perfect part., as आया करता "he always comes," तुम क्यों ऐसा किया करते हो "Why do you keep on doing so?" In Sindhi this sense is obtained by repeating the verb in the required tense after itself in the conjunctive participle, as सोई सो हरफ़ पढिओई थो पढां "Even that, that letter I read over and over again" (Trumpp, p. 343), where the participle has the emphatic *i* added to it. G., like H., uses करवुं with the inflected form of the p.p., as कर्या करवुं "to keep on doing," वांच्या करवुं "to keep on reading." The various uses of *karnâ* in forming compounds both with nouns and verbs are so numerous and peculiar, that they cannot be inserted here, but must be sought for in the dictionaries of the respective languages, and, still better, by those who have the opportunity, from the mouth of the people.

10. रह "remain," differs from कर, in that it implies continuance in a state, while कर implies repetition of an action. In H. and P., with the conjunctive participle, as बैठ रहना "to remain sitting," खेल रहते हैं "They are going on with their play;" also with the present participle, as नदी बहती रहती। "The river flows on continually," *labitur et labetur*. There is a curious phrase in Hindi, जाता रहना (literally, "to remain going") used for "to be lost and gone," as an euphemism for death; thus मेरा बाप जाता रहा है "My father is dead (has passed

away);" also for loss of things, as उसका सब धन जाता रहा "All his property is gone." I do not find this idiom in the sister languages.

Sindhi uses रहणु in the sense of continuance, as वींदो रहंदो विर्यो मिसिर शाम "He goes on travelling in fatigue from Egypt and Syria" (Trumpp, p. 344). The same sense is produced by वतणु "to turn, wander," as बीजलु घोडा चारींदो वते "Bijalu goes on grazing the horses" (*ib.*). In both cases the principal verb is in the present participle.

G. employs रेह, which is its version of रह with conjunctive participle for continuance, as करी रेहेवुं "to remain doing," and with the present participle in the sense of completion, as चडतो रेहेछे "he ascends completely."

This ancillary is truer to its original meaning in M., where it implies leaving off, refraining, with the genitive of the future participle, as मारायाचा राहिला "he left off beating." This sense recalls that of Skr. रहित = "deprived of."

B. and O. do not use this verb as an ancillary. B. substitutes for it थाक्, and O. था.

11. पड "fall," implies generally accident, as in H. जानना "to know," जान पडना "to be found out" (*i.e.* "to be known by an accident"), as उस का दोष जो जान पडे तो हम भी नहीं बचेंगे "If his fault should be found out, then we, too, shall not escape." So also in G., as वळगवुं "to stick to," वळगी पडवुं "to become attached to, to get caught in." M. uses it with the dative of the future participle, as तू ज्वरग्रस्त झालास म्हणून मला खेपा घालायास पडतें "On account of your being attacked with fever, I *have to* waste my time in travelling," literally, "to me the throwing away of journeys falls." Here the sense is that of necessity, as also in बायको केली तर घर बांधायास पडेल "If you marry a wife, you will have to set up house." The same idea is expressed in H. by adding पड to the infinitive, as तुम को जाने पडेगा "You will have to go (whether

you like it or not);" so also in B. जाइते पडिब, where it also implies subjection, or falling into a state, as धरा पडिल "he got caught," as सुन्दर पडेछे धरा शुनि विद्या पडे धरा "Hearing that Sundar had been caught, Bidya falls to the ground" (Bhârat B.-S. 359, where there is a pun on the double use of the phrase), घुमिया पडिल "he fell asleep," मारा पडिल "he caught a thrashing." The same in O., as धरा पडिछि (for पडि अछि) "he has been caught."

This verb sometimes precedes the principal verb in the sense of doing a thing accidentally, and is then put in the past participle. In this sense I would explain the sentence quoted by Kellogg (p. 195) एक बाघ पडा फिरता था "A tiger happened to be prowling about," literally, "a tiger fallen was prowling," the word "fallen" being used to express accidentally arriving. In P. the verb takes the form पइणा (= पतनं), and the p.p. is पिआ; thus they say उह पिआ खांदा है "He is engaged in eating," where the sense is rather that of continuance; when put after the principal verb, it implies setting to work at a thing, as तुरना "to walk," तुर पइणा "to set out on a journey." So also in Sindhi, where the verb has the form पवणु, the conjunctive participle पई or पेई precedes another verb with the sense of emphasis or energy, as वसरु सो विहाइ जो पई पुराणो न थिए "Buy those goods which do not grow old" (Trumpp, p. 341); here पई न थिए means rather "do not happen to become," "are not likely to become." खणी, the conjunctive of खणणु "to lift," is used in the same way, but the two verbs appear to be contrasted much as *le* and *de* in H., *khaṇi* being used where activity, *paï* where receptiveness or accident is implied. Thus खणी लिखणु "to set to work writing," खणी वजाए "he sets himself to play (music)." The past participle पिओ is also prefixed with much the same effect, as तंहिं में तजिला खिंविणिनि वांगे पिआ थिअनि "In it flashes like lightnings are found" (or "take place," or "appear;" Trumpp, *ib.*).

12. The above are the principal, if not the whole, of the

ancillaries in general use. There are, indeed, a few others, but their use is restricted to one or other of the languages. Thus पाना "to find," is used with an infinitive in Hindi in the sense of being able, or being permitted, to do a thing. The verb in this construction is neuter, as मैं उसको देखने नहीं पाया "I was not allowed to see him," तुम घर के भीतर जाने नहीं पाओगे "You will not be permitted to go inside the house;" so also in B. पडिते पाइ ना "I am not able to read," that is, not because I do not know how to read, but because I cannot find leisure, or cannot get the book.

डालना "to throw," is used in II. with verbs implying injury to show that force also was used, as—

मारना "to strike,"	मार डालना "to kill."
तोडना "to break,"	तोड डालना "to dash in pieces."
काटना "to cut,"	काट डालना "to cut down, hack, hew."

There are, besides, numerous combinations of two verbs, in which the latter of the two does all the work, the former remaining unchanged; but for these the reader is referred to the Dictionary, though, as far as I have seen, Molesworth's Marathi dictionary is the only one where they will be found fully treated.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER VERBAL FORMS.

CONTENTS.—§ 73. The Conjunctive Participle.—§ 74. The Infinitive. § 75. The Agent.—§ 76. Sindhi Verbs with Pronominal Suffixes.—§ 77. Conjugation of Stems Ending in Vowels in Hindi, Panjabi, and Sindhi.—§ 78. The same in Marathi.—§ 79. The same in Bangali and Oriya.

§ 73. The participles of the present, past, and future, being used in the formation of tenses, it has been found necessary to depart from the natural order of the verb, and to discuss them in Chapter III. There remains, however, a very widely used and important participle, which is not employed to form a tense. From the fact that it is used to connect one clause with another, and thus helps the native speaker or writer to build up those interminable sentences of which he is so fond, it has been called, very appropriately, the Conjunctive Participle. It implies "having done," and the sense of the clause in which it is used remains incomplete until another clause containing a finite verb is added; thus, instead of saying, "Next morning he woke and arose, bathed, ate, dressed, collected his goods, loaded them on his camel, bade farewell to his friend, and started on his journey," the Indian languages would say, "Having woken, having risen, having bathed, having eaten, having dressed, having collected his goods, having loaded them on his camel, having bidden farewell to his friend, having started on his journey, he went."

Sanskrit has two forms of this participle, one in त्वा, as भूत्वा "having been," the other in य, as संभूय "having met." Each

of these forms has left descendants in the modern languages, and although the form in *ya* is, in classical Sanskrit, restricted, for the most part, to compound verbs, yet this peculiarity has been overlooked in the spoken languages, and simple verbs, as well as compound ones, are treated as having this form also.

Thus in Prakrit we find सुणिअ = Skr. श्रुत्वा "having heard," as well as णिक्कमिअ = निष्क्रम्य "having gone out." So also दइअ = दत्त्वा "having given," चोरिअ = चोरयित्वा "having stolen," गदुअ = गत्वा "having gone," सिंचिअ = सिक्त्वा "having sprinkled," गेण्हिअ = गृहीत्वा "having taken."

In Old-Hindi this participle ends in *i*, as करि "having done," चलि "having gone," which is apparently the Prakrit form with loss of the final *a*, thus—

सुनि कागर नृपराज प्रथु ॥ भौ आनन्द सुभाइ ॥

"Having heard the paper, King Prithiraj was glad, being pleased."
—Pr. R. xii. 52.

Chand, however, in his more archaic passages, uses a form in *ya*, and one in *aya*, as—

भुगति भूमि किय क्यार ॥
वेद सिंचिय जल पूरन ॥
बीय सवय लय मध्य ॥
ग्यान अंकूर सजूरन ॥

"Taking possession of the earth, like a garden plot,
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water,
Having placed good seed in its midst,
Up sprung the shoot of knowledge."—Pr. R. i. 4.

Here किय "having made," and भुगति किय = mod. भोग करके "having made (or taken) possession," सिंचिय "having watered," लय = लद्य "having placed."

Mediæval Hindi has regularly the form ending in इ, as राम बचन मृदु गूढ सुनि "*Having heard* the gentle mystic speech of Rama" (*Tulsi, Rám. Bálk.* 113), पंडित भूले पढि गुनवेदा। "Sages *having read* the Veda erred as to its qualities" (Kabir, Ram.

34, 1), भक्ति विमुख जो धर्म सु सब अधर्म करि गायो ॥ "The religion that is opposed to devotion (bhakti), all that *having made* (*i.e.* having declared), irreligion he sang" (Bhaktamál, Múl. 30).

From the habitual neglect of final short vowels, it results that this participle often appears in the form of the bare stem, as in the verbs with ancillaries given above, and this form, appearing to be not sufficiently distinct, a secondary form has arisen, which is now the ordinary one in modern Hindi. This consists of adding के, कर, करके, करकर, and even करकरके to the stem, namely, the conjunctive participle of करना "to do;" as देख कर "having seen," जाकर "having gone." The first of these forms के is softened from कै, which, again, is from करि, the older form of the conjunctive part. of करना, and is used in the mediæval poets and in Braj and the rustic dialects to this day. Thus Kabir बहु बिधि के चित्र बनाइकै हरि रच्यौ क्रीडा रास ॥ "*Having made* many kinds of appearances (*máyá*), Hari has arranged the sport and pastime (of the world;" Hindola, 16). It having thus become customary to add the participle of कर to all verbs, it has been added to कर itself, thus making करके and करकर, and this reduplicated form again is added to other verbs. In all the dialects we find such forms as मारिकै, मारकै, मार, मारि, and even apocopated as Garhwali मारिक and मारीक "having beaten." Kumaoni has a curious compound form मारिबेर "having beaten," which is probably the old form मारि with बेर "time" (Skr. वेला), literally, "at the time of beating."

In the case of the common verb *ho*, the conjunctive participle, like the future, takes in Old-Hindi the forms होइ and ह्वै, especially the latter, as गुरु भक्त एक न्यारो नही ह्वै सके। "Guru-bhakta alone could not remain apart" (*sak* ancillary with conjunctive of *ho* = "could be;" Bhaktamál, 116, 1), रजनी अंध कूप ह्वै जाए "The night becomes as dark as a well" (Kabir, Ram. 16, 4), मानुस बडे बडे ह्वै आये "Very great men came" (lit. "having become very great;" *ib.* 17, 6).

P. is the same as H., and with the latter closely agrees O., which forms this participle by short *i*, as देखि "having seen." This form also appearing too indefinite, in ordinary conversation they add करि, often pronounced किरि, as देखिकरि "having seen." O. has also another, and in the classical speech the only admissible, form in *ile*, as मारिले "having beaten," which is also used in B., and in both appears to be the old locative case of the past participle, and is thus literally "in having beaten." The old form of the locative case having in O. fallen into disuse, the same has taken place in the participle; thus arise the forms देखिलारे "in having seen," and देखिलारु "from having seen," which are respectively the locative and ablative, formed after the modern fashion by adding ठारे and ठारु, the initial syllable of which is rejected (Vol. II. p. 274).

B. has, besides the form in *ile*, one in *iyá*, which approaches closer to the Prakrit, as पड़िया "having fallen," बसिया "having sat," धरिया "having seized." This latter form is that which is used to string together long sentences, in preference to the form in *ile*, which is used more in short sentences. Thus Bhârat—

आन छले पुनः चाहे फिरिया फिरिया ॥
पिंजरेर पाखि मत बेड़ाय घुरिया ॥

"Another craftily looks, repeatedly turning round,
Like a bird in a cage walks round and round."

—Bidyâ-S. 245.

literally, "having turned, having turned, looks," and "having twisted round, walks."

S. has four forms for this participle. Neuter verbs take the ending *i*, as वरी "having returned;" active and causal verbs have *e*, as मले "having rubbed," both of which correspond to the Pr. ending *ia*. Less widely used is a form in *io* or *yo*, as मोट्यो "having returned," धोयो "having washed," which is identical with the p.p.p. Thirdly, the inserted *jja* of Prakrit reappears here, as from खणणु "to lift," खणिजे "having lifted."

Lastly, S. follows the example of H., and adds करे, the conjunctive of करणु "to do," as वरी करे "having returned."

G. resembles S., having its conjunctive in *i*, as होई "having become." Ordinarily it puts this participle in the objective case, adding the postposition नें, often dropping the anuswâra, as करीनें or करीने "having done," देईने "having given." As G. makes no distinction between *i* and *ĭ*, this is often written with short *i*, as देइने.

M. stands quite alone, having its conjunctive in ऊन, as जाऊन "having gone," होऊन "having been." This is sometimes written ओन, and in the poets takes an increment, and appears as ऊनियां, ओनियां, as तुम्हापाशीं अम्ही येऊनियां काय ॥ (Tuk. Abh. 1888) "What is the good of my going to you?" (literally, "I near you *having come*, what?") देखोनियां वस्त्रें भूषणांचें जन ॥ तात्काल मरण येतें मज। "*Having seen* men in fine clothes and ornaments, I am ready to die at once" (*ib.*).

This form is the old Maharashtri Pr. form in ऊण, shortened from तूण, Skr. त्वानं, accusative of त्वा (Lassen, p. 367), and has undergone singularly little change. I see in this a confirmation of the belief that modern Marathi is really the representative of the Maharashtri Prakrit, for it is only in Maharashtri that the conjunctive in *úṇa, tûṇa*, is found. All the prose dialects without distinction take forms of the conjunctive derived from the Skr. *-ya*; this consideration seems to be fatal to the theory (Trumpp, p. 283; V. Taylor, p. 114, § 256) which would derive the G. conjunctive in *ine* from M. *úṇa*. Setting aside the absence of any analogy for a change from *ú* to *i* in such a connection, there is abundant evidence that G. is, by origin, a Rajput dialect belonging to that large group of dialects which we roughly class under the name of Hindi, and Śastri Vrajlâl (G. Bh. It. p. 3) points out the great gulf that exists between G. and M., as also the close connection of G. with the northern dialects. We have therefore strong reasons for not looking to M. for the origin of any G. form. The

latter has, like the rest of the eastern Hindi group, Saurasenî for its parent, and the form in *-ine*, when compared with that in *i* in the same language, points clearly to the Saurasenî conjunctive in *ia* with a modern case-postposition *ne* or *nen* added.

§ 74. The Infinitive is, in all the languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun. Its numerous forms may all be grouped under two general types, which may be called the *Ba*, and the *Na* types respectively.

The *Ba* type is found in the rustic dialects of Hindi, in Bangali, Oriya, and Gujarati, and is declined as a noun. It occurs in the oldest Hindi poems. Chand has it in—

जो विलंब करि रहै। तो ताहि हनिवे को आवै॥

"If any one makes delay, he comes to strike him."—Pr. R. i. 198.

उठि लरिवे कों धायौ॥

"Rising up, rushed to fight."—*ib.* i. 254.

It takes the junction-vowel *i*, and in these passages is in the accusative case. It may be rendered "to *or* for the purpose of fighting." This form does not once occur in the Ramaini (रमैनी) of Kabir, and only rarely in his other works. I have noted तरिवे को "to cross over," चलैवो (चलाइवा) "to urge on," in the Rekhtas. It is more common in Braj, and in Tulsi Das's Ramâyan, where, besides the form with junction-vowel *i*, as तोरिवे "to break," occurs also a shorter form in *ab*, as फिरब "to return." In the dialects (Kellogg, p. 241) occur the following (*mâr* "strike"):—

Braj मारिबौं, East Rajput मारवो, West Rajp. *id.* Old-Pûrbi मारब, Avadhi, and Riwai *id.*

In Gujarati, this is the only form of the infinitive. It is declined as an adjective for all three genders, thus—

Sing. लाववो *m.*, लाववी *f.*, लाववुं *n.*

Pl. लाववा *m.*, °वी *f.*, °वां *n.* "to bring" or "the act of bringing."

and agrees with the object, as mentioned in § 52, where it is used to constitute a tense. In the neuter singular it performs the functions of a simple infinitive, as गावुं "to sing," करवुं "to do."

In Oriya it is the ordinary infinitive, as बसिबा "to sit," and, though without gender, is declined for case, as—

Gen. बसिबार "of sitting," — एहि बसिबार जागा "this is a place of sitting," *i.e.* "a fit place to sit in."

Loc. बसिबारे "in sitting," — बसिबारे किछि हेब नहीं "in sitting nothing will become," *i.e.* "you will do no good by sitting still."

Acc. बसिबाकु "to *or* for sitting," — बसिबाकु हेब "for sitting it will become," *i.e.* "you will have to, *or* must, sit."

देखिबाकु आसिला "he came to see."

Abl. बसिबारु "from sitting," — सेठि बसिबारु सरदी लागिब "from sitting there a chill will attack," *i.e.* "if you sit there, you will catch cold."

Bengali does not use this form as its ordinary infinitive, having utilized for that purpose the locative of the present participle, as होइते "to be" (lit. "in being"), थाकिते "to remain," जाइते "to go;" but it is used in the genitive case to form a sort of gerund or verbal noun, as बीज रुपिबार काल आछे "It is the time of sowing, *or* for sowing, seed." More common still is its employment with जन्ये, कारण or निमित्ते "for the sake of," as देखिबार जन्ये "for the sake of seeing," करिबार निमित्ते "for the sake of doing."

The infinitive of the Gipsies ends in *âva*, and probably belongs to this group. Paspati writes *kerâva* "to do," *lâva* "to take," *dâva* "to give," *sovâva* "to sleep," *mangâva* "to ask," *ruvâva* "to weep," which may be transliterated perhaps करावं, लावं, दावं, सोवावं, मंगावं, रुवावं respectively. These are words of the Chingana or Turkish Gipsies. Those in Bohemia ap-

parently drop the final *a* and shorten the *á*, as *chorav* "to steal" (चोरव), *kerav* "to do" (करव), *chinnav* "to tear" (चिनव). Those in Wallachia appear to pronounce the termination as *ao* (अओ or आओ?), as *jao* "to go" (जाओ), *hao* "to eat" (हाओ), *peo* "to drink" (पेओ).[1]

In all these languages the idea of an infinitive glides off imperceptibly into that of a verbal noun, and the *Ba* form thus reveals its origin from the Sanskrit future passive participle in तव्य, from which, as we have seen in Ch. III. § 51, many tenses are formed.

The *Na* type occurs in Hindi, as also in P. S. M. It has two forms in H., one archaic and poetical ending in *ana*, the other modern and classical in *nâ*. The first of these two forms I would derive from the Sanskrit verbal noun in *anam*, as करणं "doing," पतनं "falling." It is in frequent use, uninflected, throughout the poets, thus—

पुरुषातन तिन बंधन बिचारि ॥

"Having plotted *to stop* his virility."—Pr. R. i. 178.

कियौ चलन कौ साज ॥

"He made preparation *to go*."—*ib.* xx. 28.

जंग जुरन जालिम जुझार ॥

"*To join* battle a terrible warrior."—*ib.* xx. 31.

सत्य कहौं मोहि जान दे माई ॥

"I speak truth, suffer me *to go*, mother."—Tulsi-Ram. S.-k. 7.

राम सैल बन देखन जाहीं ॥

"They go *to see* the hill and forest of Râm."—*ib.* Ay-k. 91.

It is unnecessary to give more instances of this very common form. It still survives in Kanauji, as मारन "to strike." The other form in ना was anciently written नौं, and is always so written in Braj, as मारनौं "to strike," आवनौं "to come." This form I now agree with Hoernle in deriving from the Sanskrit

[1] Miklosich, Zigeuner Europa's, part ii. p. 9.

future participle in *antya*, so that from करणीयं, through Pr. करणीअं and करणअं, would come Old-H. करनीं, M. करणें, and P. करना. I, however, would refer the S. करण to the verbal noun in *anam*, because the final vowel is short, and, as in all similar nouns, reproduces the final *o* = *u* of the a-stem (see Hoernle's essay in J.A.S.B. vol. 42, p. 59, etc.). The two forms of the infinitive are thus analogous in respect of their derivation, and the fact of the existence side by side of two sets of forms with precisely similar meaning is explained by that of there being two participles of similar meaning in Sanskrit, both of which have left descendants.

Under these altered lights I must withdraw the opinion formerly held by me as to the origin of the infinitive in *nâ*. That in *ana* is now obsolete, except in Kanauji, and the *nâ* form is declined as a noun in *â*, making its oblique in *e*, as *karne kâ* "of doing," *karne meṉ* "in doing." In M. the infinitive is also declined as a noun of the sixth declension (Vol. II. p. 192), thus gen. *karaṇyâ châ* "of doing," dat. *karaṇyâ lâ* "to doing." In Sindhi, however, the infinitive vindicates its claim to be considered as a descendant of the verbal noun in *anam* by exhibiting the declension of masculines (*i.e.* neuters) in *u*; the oblique ends consequently in *a*, as *ginhaṇa jo* "of buying," *ginhaṇa meṉ* "in buying," etc. This would not be the case were the S. infinitive derived from the participle in *antya*.

M. has an infinitive peculiar to itself ending in ऊं, as मरूं "to die," which is comparatively little used, and only with the present tense. I am unable to suggest any thoroughly satisfactory explanation of this form which does not appear to have any analogy in the cognate languages. It may be the only descendant of the Skr. infinitive in *tum*, with elision of the *t*, but this is somewhat doubtful. To this place must also be referred the B. infinitive or verbal noun in *â*, as करा "to do," or "the act of doing," which, after stems ending in a vowel, appears as या, the *y* of which is not pronounced; thus हओया

pronounced "hôwâ," देखोया "dewâ." The origin of this form is not clear to me, but it is probably connected with the participle in तव्य.

§ 75. On the basis of the infinitive in *nâ* is formed the agent. This, in Hindi, is made by adding to the oblique of the infinitive the words वाला, हारा; as करनेवाला "a doer," देखनेहारा "a seer." Of these the former is apparently Skr. पालक "protector, keeper." Thus Skr. गोपालक "cowherd," becomes H. ग्वाला; as to the latter there is some difference of opinion, some would derive it from Skr. धारक "holder," others from कारक "doer." I myself incline to the latter view; the क would be elided when it ceased to be initial, and its place supplied by ह, which is often used to fill an hiatus. This is Trumpp's opinion (Grammar, p. 75), who shows that in S. this form of the agent exists as *hâro* or *hâru*=respectively *kâraka* and *kâra*, as in—

सिर्जणु "to create,"	सिरजणहारो (रु) "creator,"
लिखणु "to write,"	लिखणहारो (रु) "writer,"

also in its original form of *kâro* or *kâru*, with nouns, as झेडो "quarrel," झेडाकारु "quarreller."

Kellogg (p. 245) refers to the phrase धारन धारयं in Chand's first verse as confirming the derivation from धारक; but this identification rests on a translation of that verse very confidently put forward by a writer whose high estimate of himself as a translator of Hindi has not yet been confirmed by the opinion of scholars in general. The translation in this particular instance is extremely uncertain, and no argument can be based on it.

Hindi has also an agent in वैया, as करवैया "a doer," रखवैया "a keeper," which is shortened from वारिया, a dialectic form of वाला. It is confined almost to rustic speech, though the shorter form वारा is not uncommon in the poets. H. वाला may be added also to nouns, to imply the doer of an action, or

the person who takes care of a thing, in which latter respect the original meaning of *pâlaka* is well preserved. Thus घोडेवाला "one who takes care of a horse." So also in P. घरवाला "husband," *i.e.* one who takes care of or maintains the house, and still more frequently घरवाली *f.* "wife." Sindhi changes ल to र *more suo*, and has वारो, as घरवारो "householder," from घर "house," and डिञणवारो "giver," from डिञणु "to give," H. देनेवाला.

Chand uses the form in हार, shortened from हारा, to make a sort of future participle, in the verb हो "be." Thus—

होइ होनहार सीता हरन ॥

"The rape of Sita, *which was to be*, takes place."—Pr. R. iii. 27.

Also—

तें कछू होनहार पहचानिय ॥

"Thou knowing something of *futurity*."—*ib.* xxi. 92.

ह्वनहार एसी लषी । कही जु आल्ह उपाय ॥

"It is written thus as *destined to be*, the plan which Alha has spoken."
—*ib.* xxi. 94.

Probably, also, to this place belongs the affix वारी in words like पटवारी "a village accountant," the व being an indication of a lost क, from कारी (कारिन्) "doer."

In M. and G. this form loses its initial consonant, and appears simply as *ára*. In G. it is incorporated into one word with the verbal noun in *ana*, of which, except in this conjunction, no traces remain. Thus from होवुं "to be," comes होनार "one who is." But, just as in the Old-H. होनहार, the sense of futurity has usurped the place of the original idea of agency, and *honár* now means "he who, *or* that which, is to be," as सत्ये होनार ते होय । शत वीना बीजुं नही कोय ॥ "That which in truth is (destined) to be, comes to pass, except truth there is nothing else" (Samaldas, Leckey, p. 64). It also takes the long *o*, as थनार or थनारो "that which is about to become," from थवुं "to become," शकनार "that which is able," from

शकवुं "to be able;" and is in practice used simply as a remote future tense, less immediate in its action than the simple future of the *sa* type, but equally common. Thus एटला माटेज अमे तनें मारनार "For this very reason we are *about to kill* thee;" पोताना धर्मने कदी छोडनार नथी "He *will* never *forsake* his religion," in other words, "he is not a forsaker (H. छोडनेहारो) of, or one who is likely to forsake, his religion;" हुं बीजाने मारीने शुख भोगवनारो हतो "Having killed another, *I was about to enjoy* happiness," literally, "I was becoming an enjoyer" (Leckey, p. 161).

It is probably owing to the absence of any derivative of the verbal noun in *ana* that the grammar-writers have failed to understand the true origin of this form, and have supposed it to be composed of the verbal stem and a suffix *nâr* or *nâro*, so that *chhoḍanâro* is by them divided *chhoḍa-nâro*, instead of *chhoḍan(a)-(h)âro*.

A similar misapprehension has occurred in M. In that language, also, *ár*, *árâ*, are used, added to the infinitive in णें, to make, not a noun of the agent, but a future participle, so far, at least, as the meaning goes. Thus from करणें come करणार "a doer," and करणारा, obl. करणारे. But these are used in the sense of "one who is about to do," as in G. So येणारे लोक is "the people who are coming," *i.e.* "who are expected to come." Godbol, at p. 109 of his excellent Marathi Grammar, indicates rightly the origin of this tense, and illustrates it by such nouns as Skr. कुंभकार, Pr. कुंभआर, M. कुंभार. Other grammarians, however, still speak of "the participle in णारा."

This noun, used, as above explained, participially, is employed to form compound tenses, § 62. In H. and P. the noun in *wâlâ* (not *vâlâ*) is used in a future sense, as वुह जानेवाला था "he was just about to go." This is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes.

In O. one also hears a form in *wâlâ* added to the infinitive,

as पाइवाओयाला "a receiver." I suspect, however, that this is a recent introduction from the Hindi. There is no *w* in Oriya, and in trying to express the sound, they imitate the Bengalis, and put that form of य which it has as the last member of a nexus (the *ya-phala* as they call it), behind an ओ. They pronounce this extraordinary combination *wa*, and not *oya*, as it should be. The natural genius of the language has no form for the agent; instead of saying "the speaker," they would say, "he who speaks," or, if educated, would use the Sanskrit agent in तृ.

B. had, in its original state, apparently no noun of the agent. In modern times, recourse has been had to Sanskrit agents, which have been used whenever required, but colloquially it is easy to do without a *nomen agentis*, by slightly varying the arrangement of the sentence, and this is generally the course pursued. Such forms as कर्ता "doer," दाता "giver," used in literature, are, of course, Sanskrit pure and simple, and as such do not concern our present inquiry.

§ 76. The pronominal suffixes which are peculiar to Sindhi among the languages of the Indian group are also affixed to verbs, and, indeed, much more copiously used in that connection than with nouns. At Vol. II. p. 334, these suffixes, as applied to nouns, were briefly treated; they require more elaborate handling under verbs. It was mentioned, at the place cited above, that in this respect Sindhi allied itself with the neighbouring Aryan group of the Iranian languages, especially with Persian and Pashtu. I am not in a position to analyze the Persian and Pashtu analogies, and with respect to the latter language, though Trumpp has shown (Zeitschrift d. D. M. G. vol. xxiii. p. 1) that it is in many respects more closely allied to the Indian than to the Iranian group, yet it is so evidently a border language, transitional between the two, that to admit it to the present work would carry me beyond the limits of my

undertaking. It will suffice merely to notice, without attempting to discuss, the suffixes of that language as they occur in analogy with Sindhi.

These suffixes are used to bring the object of the verb's action into one word with it, and may be thus considered as datives, accusatives, or whatever case expresses the nature of the action of any particular verb. They are the same in form as those attached to nouns, and stand thus in comparison with Persian and Pashto:

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Sindhi	1. मि	2. इ	3. सि.	1. ऊं, हूं	2. व	3. नि, न.
Persian	1. اَم	2. اَت	3. اَش.	1. مَا	2. شُمَا	3. شَان.
Pashto	1. me	2. de	3. e.	1. mu, um	2. mu	3. e.

Taking the aorist of the active verb as the simplest tense, we find the suffix simply added without effecting any phonetic changes in the termination of the verb. Thus—

Sing. 1. **आंऊं छड़िआं** "I let go," with suff. of 2 sing. **छडिआंइ** "I let thee go," **छड़िआंसि** "I let him go," with suff. of 2 pl. **छडिआंव** "I let you go," **छडिआंनि** "I let them go."

Sing. 2. **तूं छडिएं** "thou lettest go," with suff. of 1 sing. **छडिएंमि** "thou lettest me go," and so on.

Pl. 3. **हू छडिनि** "they let go," with suff. of 3 sing. **छडिनिसि** "they let him go," and so on.

The imperative is treated exactly in the same way. The respectful form takes **इजां** in the singular in this connection, not **इजे**, as **छडिजांमि** "Please to let me go," **छडिजांसि** "Please to let him go."

In the participial tenses a still greater variety of forms results from the change of the termination for gender in the third

person singular and plural. The first person, however, also undergoes changes. Thus, in the present participle used as a future, हुंदुसि "I shall be," *m.*, becomes हुंदोसां, and हुंदिअसि "I shall be," *f.*, becomes हुंदीसां. So that we get forms—

m. हुंदोसांद् "I shall be to thee," हुंदोसांसि "I shall be to him."
f. हुंदीसांव "I shall be to you," हुंदीसांनि "I shall be to them."

So, also, the plurals हुंदासों *m.*, and हुंदिऊंसों "we shall be," become respectively हुंदासूं and हुंदिऊंसूं. The second person remains unchanged, merely affixing the personal suffixes. In the third person *m.* हुंदो is shortened to हुंदु, and *f.* हुंदी to हुंद or हुंद्; pl. *m.* हुंदा becomes हुंद्, except with the suffix of the first person plural, as हुंदासूं "they shall be to us," but हुंदव "they shall be to you;" pl. *f.* remains unchanged.

The past participle used as a perfect tense undergoes analogous changes. Thus—

1 Sing. *m.* होसि "I was," becomes होसां, as होसांद् "I was to thee."
„ *f.* ऊअसि „ „ ऊईसां, „ ऊईसांसि "I was to him."
1 Pl. *m.* ऊआसीं "we were," „ ऊआसूं, „ ऊआसूंनि "we were to them."
„ *f.* ऊयूंसीं " „ „ ऊयूंसूं, „ ऊयूंसूंव "we were to you."

The second and third persons remain almost unchanged. In active verbs, however, where only the 3 sing. is used, owing to the objective construction, a somewhat different system prevails. The subject, which in other languages is put in the instrumental, may in S. be indicated by a suffix, and the object being also shown by a suffix, it arises that the verb may have two suffixes at the same time. Thus "I forsook thee," would be in H. मैं ने तुझ को छोडा, lit. "by me thee forsaken," where the subject is in the instrumental, and the object in the accusative, case, the verb (*i.e.* participle) being left in the masc. singular, because there is no neuter in H. In M., which has a neuter,

the Bhâva or impersonal construction is used, as म्यां तुला सोडिलें "by me to thee released," as though it were *a me tibi relictum* (est). Sindhi expresses this sentence by one word छडिओमांइ, *i.e. chhaḍio-mâṇ-i* = "forsaken-by me-thee." Thus there arises a long string of forms for every possible combination of the agent and the object. A few may be given as examples; a full range will be found by those who desire to pursue the question further in Trumpp (p. 371):

छडिओमांसि "I have forsaken him."
छडिआंईंसि "he has forsaken him."
विहारिआंईंसि "he caused him to sit."
चिआंऊंसि "they said to her."
चिआंईंनि "she said to them."

The suffixes denoting the agent are ईं sing. and ऊं pl., which Trumpp considers to be shortened from ईन "by him," instr. of ही "this," and ऊनि "by them," instr. pl. of हू "that," respectively.

A curious proof of the antiquity of these complicated forms with suffixes is afforded by the fact, that in connection with them the 3 sing. aorist of √अस् appears still in its old Pr. form of अथ (अत्थि), § 59. This form exists only in combination with the pronominal suffixes, whereas the ordinary form आहे is used both with and without suffixes. Thus they say आहेमि and अथमि "there is to me," as in the line—

गुझी अथमि गालहडो आउ ओहे तां ओरीआं ॥

"*There is to me* a secret matter, come near, then I will tell it."
—Trumpp, p. 350.

It is used just as in Latin "est mihi," in the sense of "I have," as अथमि "I have," अथी (for अथइ) "thou hast," अथसि "he has," अथूं (for अथऊं) "we have," अथव "ye have," अथनि "they have." It is incorrect to say with Trumpp (*loc. cit.*)

that *atha* has in S. "been transferred to the plural." The verb remains in the 3 sing. throughout, and takes suffixes of both numbers and all three persons.

In the compound tenses the suffixes are attached to the auxiliaries, leaving the principal verb unchanged. Both single and double suffixes are used in this way, just as with the simple and participial tenses. Thus किओ होइ "thou hadst made," जंहिं खिदमतगार (خدمتگار) खे अगे सेखारिओ हांईं (for हुआंईं) तंहिं डे निहाराईं "He looked towards that servant whom he had previously instructed," literally, "Which servant previously by him instructed, to that (one) by him looked" (Trumpp, p. 379).

It is tempting to look for the origin of this habit of using suffixes to the Semitic languages, which, from the early conquests of the Arabs in Persia and Sindh, may have had an influence upon the speech of those countries. On the other hand, however, the presence of a precisely similar habit in Italian and Spanish, seems to show that there exists a tendency to such constructions even in the Aryan family; for I suppose that even if we see in the Spanish forms a trace of Arab influence, no such motive power can be argued for any part of Italy, unless it be Sicily.

In Italian there are separate forms for the suffixed personal pronouns, and when used with a verb in the imperative or infinitive, these suffixed forms are incorporated into the verb; thus they say rispondete*mi* "answer *me*," parlate*gli* "speak *to him*," date*le* "give *her*," imaginar*lo* "to imagine *it*," offrite*ci* "offer us." Double suffixes are also used, as assicurate*mene* "assure *me of it*," date*glielo* "give *it to him*," mandate*glielo* "send them to him."

So also in Spanish, vino á ver*me* "he came to see *me*," vengo á soccorrer*te* "I come to help *thee*," quiero castigar*os* "I will punish *you*," deje*me* "let me go," pasando*me* "*as I was* passing," escriba*le* "write *to him*," di*les* "tell them." Here, also, double

suffixes may be used, as decir*telo* "to tell *it thee*," mostrad*nosla* "show her to us."

It is noticeable, however, that this habit in Italian and Spanish is modern, and does not exist in Latin, any more than it does in Sanskrit. Is it, then, a result of the confusion of forms that sprung into existence simultaneously with the decay of the old synthetic system, or is it an adoption of a Semitic principle? Diez finds the origin of the suffixed pronouns in shortened forms of the dative and accusative of Latin, which were already in use in the classical period.[1] It remains, however, to be explained how this peculiarity arose in the Romance group, in one member of the Iranian, and two members of the Indian group, only, and nowhere else in all the wide range of the Indo-European family.

§ 77. Having now gone through all the forms of the modern Indian verb, the subject may be closed by some remarks on the way in which the terminations are added to those verbal stems which end in a vowel. So many of these terminations begin with vowels, that a hiatus necessarily ensues, and the modern languages, though they do not, as a rule, object to a hiatus, do in this particular make occasional efforts to avoid it.

Hindi stems end only in long vowels—*â*, *î*, *û*, *e*, *o*. Some grammarians call those stems which end in a long vowel *open* roots, and those which end in a consonant *close* roots. This terminology has nothing to recommend it, and there is no advantage in retaining it. The tenses whose terminations begin with vowels are the aorist, future, imperative, and past participle.

Before terminations beginning with *û* or *o*, no attempt is made to soften the hiatus, but before *â* and *e* there is sometimes inserted a य or व. As types may be taken the stems जा "go,"

[1] Gramm. d. Romanischen Sprachen, vol. ii. p.85, *et seqq.*

पी "drink," छू "touch," दे "give," and बो "sow." The aorist of these five is as follows :—

	SINGULAR.	
1. जाऊं	2. जाए, जावे, जाय	3. *id.*
1. पीऊं	2. पीए, पीवे	3. *id.*
1. छूऊं	2. छूए	3. *id.*
1. देऊं, दूं	2. देवे, दे	3. *id.*
1. बोऊं	2. बोए, बोवे	3. *id.*
	PLURAL.	
1. जाएं, जावें, जांय	2. जाओ	3. जाएं, जावें, जांय
1. पीएं, पीवें	2. पीओ	3. पीएं, पीवें
1. छूएं	2. छूओ	3. छूएं
1. देवें, दें	2. देओ, दो	3. देवें, दें
1. बोवें, बोएं	2. बोओ	3. बोवें, बोएं

The common stems *de* and *le* usually suffer contraction by the elision of their final vowel, and one more commonly hears *do* "give!" *lo* "take!" *dûngâ* "I will give," *lûngâ* "I will take," than the full forms.

The future and imperative follow the same rule as the aorist. In the past participle of stems ending in *â*, य् is inserted before the *â* of the termination, as आ "come," p.p.p. आ-य्-आ (आया), पा "find," पाया, खा "eat," खाया. But in the poets, especially in Tulsi Das, instead of व् we find य् commonly inserted. Thus, एहि बिधि राम सबहि समुझावा "In this way Ram explained to all" (Ay-k. 457). आवा "came," बनावा "made," पावा "found," गावा "sang," for आया, बनाया, पाया, गाया respectively. Kabir uses both forms indifferently. Thus in Ram. 48, i. पढाया "caused to read," पाया "found," but in the next, Ram. 49, पावा and आवा. In the fem. sing., however, and in the pl. m. and f., the junction-letter व is not used, thus आई "she came," बनाई "she made," fem. sing., आये, पाये masc. pl. As all

causals end in *á*, these forms are of frequent occurrence, and sometimes even an द् is inserted, as बनाइया. In the old *ha* future, the *á* of the stem and the initial *i* of the termination frequently coalesce into ऐ, as—

कछूक दिवस जननी धरु धीरा ॥
कपिन्ह सहित ऐहैं रघुबीरा ॥
निशिचर मारि तुमहिं ले जैहैं ॥
तिहुं पूर नारदादि जश गैहैं ॥

"For a few days, mother, sustain thy courage,
Raghubîr *will come* with the monkeys,
Slaying the demons, *will carry* thee *off*;
The three worlds, Nârada and all *shall sing* his praise."
—Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 36.

where ऐहैं = आइहैं, जैहैं = जाइहैं, and गैहैं = गाइहैं; so also we find पैहैं "they will find," for पाइहैं, mod. पावेंगे (Tulsi, Ram., S.-k. 10). In other places, however, we find the junction-letter व, as पावहि, आवहि, etc.

In Panjabi the junction-letter for the aorist, imperative, and future is regularly व, as जावे "he goes," जावेगा "he will go," but before *o* it is omitted, as जाओ "go ye," जाओगे "ye will go." For the past participle it is द्, as होइआ "been," masc. sing., and is omitted before *e*, as होए "been," masc. pl. In the three first-named tenses the व is regularly inserted in pure P., but in speaking it is now sometimes, under the influence of Hindi, omitted, and देगा is heard instead of the more characteristic देवेगा.

In Sindhi all verbal stems end in a vowel, those stems, which in other languages end in a consonant, having in that language a short *a* or *i*. In this class of stems, before the neuter infinitive in अणु, a व् is inserted, as प "fall," infin. पवणु; नि "bow," infin. निवणु. Before the active infinitive in इणु no junction-letter is employed, as म "measure," infin. मइणु.

Stems, whether active or neuter, ending in *i* and *u*, and sometimes those ending in *o*, shorten those vowels in the infinitive, as—

पी "drink," infin. पिअणु
पू "string," ,, पुअणु
धो "wash," ,, धुअणु
रो "weep," ,, रुअणु
हो "be," ,, हुअणु

but, on the other hand, ढो "carry," has infin. ढोअणु; and stems in *á*, including causals, retain the long vowel, as—

गाल्हा "speak," infin. गाल्हाइणु
फेरा "cause to turn," ,, फेराइणु.

The aorist follows generally the type of the infinitive, retaining the short vowel. In the persons व is inserted as in P., except before *u* or *o*; thus पवां "I fall," is declined—

Sing. 1. पवां 2. पवें 3. पवे. Pl. 1. पवूं 2. पवो 3. पवनि.

The व may be dropped before 2 and 3 sing., as चए "thou sayest," or "he says." The common verb डिअणु "to give," undergoes contraction in this, as in all the other languages; thus 2 sing. डीं "thou givest," not डिएं, 3 pl. डीनि, not डिअनि.

Verbs ending in *á* insert य् before *á*, *u*, and *o*, as वुढायां "I grow old," वुढायूं "we grow old," वुढायां "yo grow old."

The imperative and other tenses follow the general rule, which may, for Sindhi, and, to a great extent, for the other languages also, be thus stated; the junction-letters are व and य, व is omitted before vowels of its own organ, as *u* and *o*, and य is omitted before *i* and *e*; before *á* both are employed, but preferentially व after short vowels, and य after long ones.

Thus, in the present participle, which is used as a future, व is either inserted or omitted, as—

पवणु "to fall,"	पवंदो "falling."
पिअणु "to drink,"	पिअंदो "drinking."
धुअणु "to wash,"	धुअंदो "washing."

Contraction also occurs, as चवणु "to speak," चूंदो (चवंदो) ऊअणु "to be," हूंदो (ऊअंदो) डिअणु "to give," डींदो (डिअंदो). The past participle regularly ends in ए॒ओ or यो, and the inserted व is naturally dropped before it, thus—

चवणु makes चयो, not चव्यो.
नवणु „ नयो „ नव्यो (Old-H. नाया).

If the stem ends in a palatal vowel or consonant, the *i* of the termination is dropped, as—

थिअणु "to become," थिओ, not थीओ = थि + ए॒ओ.
कुछणु "to speak," कुछो.
सोझणु "to inquire," सोझो.

Passives naturally drop the euphonic व of the active infinitive before their palatal junction-vowel, as—

चवणु "speak," *Imperative* चउ, Passive चइजणु "to be spoken."
पवणु "fall," „ पउ, „ पइजणु "to be fallen."

The stems quoted above, as shortening their radical long vowel before the termination of the infinitive active, naturally retain the long vowel in the passive, as—

पी "drink,"	पीजणु "to be drunk."
पू "string,"	पूजणु "to be strung."
धो "wash,"	धोइजणु "be washed."

There is very little to notice, in this respect, about G. The orthography of that language is still in so unfixed a state, that it is impossible to seize upon any principles as to junction-letters. One writer will insert them, while another omits them, or the same writer will insert them on one page and omit them on the next. Thus we find होए, होये, होअ, होय written in-

differently, also छद्‌ये and छद्‌ए. Until the natives of that province make up their minds as to how their language ought to be spelt, it is impossible for foreigners to evolve any laws or rules on the subject.

§ 78. Marathi is slightly more sensitive to hiatus, and has a greater fondness for the य-sound than the other languages. There exists, consequently, in some persons of certain tenses, a system of Sandhi for Tadbhava words and forms, which differs in its general principles from that prevailing in Sanskrit. The grammar-writers, unfortunately, either omit entirely or only casually note these important combinations. The following remarks are offered as a contribution to the subject.[1]

The tenses of the M. verb, whose terminations begin with a vowel, are the aorist, imperative, future, and subjunctive, also the participles present and past, the conjunctive and infinitive. These are for the neuter verb; in the active verb the द्‌, which is inserted between the stem and termination, causes a collision of two vowels in the other tenses also. Verbal stems ending in all the vowels except *a* have here to be considered (khâ "eat," pî "drink," ghe "take").

Aorist, (in modern usage past habitual)—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
1. खाईं	2. खाईस	3. खाई.		1. खाऊं	2. खा	3. खात.
1. पीईं	2. पीईस	3. पीई.		1. पीऊं	2. प्या	3. पीत.
1. घेईं	2. घेईस	3. घेई.		1. घेऊं	2. घ्या	3. घेत.

But in the 3 sing. घे, पी are used, so also देस, घेस in 2 sing., and in the 3 pl. the final ई is elided. In 2 sing. both ई and ए are changed to the palatal semivowel before *â*, though not before *ú*, so that we have प्या, घ्या side by side with पीऊं (not प्यूं), घेऊं (not घ्यूं).

[1] For the illustrations to this section I have to thank Captain G. A. Jacob, Inspector of Schools, Punâ, who kindly furnished me with details which are wanting from most of the grammars.

In the future there is similarly in 2 pl. खाल, प्याल, घ्याल, and so also in the imperative 2 pl. घ्या, प्या; ये "come," makes aorist 2 pl. या, future याल, and occasionally one hears ये aorist 3 sing. for the more regular येई.

In the subjunctive the semivowel occurs again, as प्यावा, घ्यावा, but यावा simply from ये. This last verb should, by analogy, form य्यावा, but the double *y* in such a position would be unpronounceable, and a single *y* is therefore exhibited. It must not be supposed that the *e* of ये has simply been dropped.

For the potential the termination of the present वतें might have been expected to be simply added to the verbal stem, as no hiatus would thus be caused. But the origin of this form from the Skr. part. in तव्य renders this course impossible. The त of तव्य having suffered elision, there naturally results an hiatus. Thus from खादितव्यं, Pr. खाद्अव्वं gives खाववं, the first व supplying the place of the lost द्, so that in the potential we get not खावतें, but खाववतें. Similarly पीववतें, घेववतें, येववतें, and even in stems ending in ह, as लिह "write," लिहववतें.

Stems ending in *u* preserve the hiatus almost throughout, thus *dhu* "wash"—

Aor. धुईं, धुईस, धुई; धुऊं, धुआ (but धुत).
Fut. धुईन, धुईल, धुऊं; धुआल, धुतील.
Subj. धुआवा or धुवावा.
Pot. धुववतें.

In the present participle only त is added, not ईत or अत, as खात, पीत, घेत, येत, धुत, and in the past participle the semivowel is generally used, as—

खा p.p. खाल्ला "eaten."
ले „ ल्याला "put on."
भी „ भ्याला "feared."
वि „ व्याला "brought forth."
पी „ प्याला or पिल्ला "drunk."

Some stems avoid the hiatus by insertion of त, as चेतला, धुतला (see § 47), which is also used in some stems ending with a consonant.

The conjunctive is खाऊन, पीऊन, घेऊन, देऊन. These are all the forms in which an initial vowel of a termination comes in contact with a final stem-vowel, and it will be observed that the change of the latter into a semivowel occurs generally before *a* or *â*, but not before *i* or *û*. When the stem-vowel is *u* or *o*, the semivowel is added to, not substituted for, the vowel, as in धुवाक्, not ध्वावा. From this and other instances in word-building, and in the formation of the case of the noun, it would appear that the labial and palatal vowels are more permanent and less liable to change in Marathi than the guttural vowel.

It is somewhat difficult to follow the author of the Portuguese grammar of the Konkani dialect, in consequence of the peculiarity of the system of transliteration which he uses, and only half explains, but there would appear to be several forms peculiar to that dialect. Thus he tells us that घे makes its past part. *yelo* or *ailo*, which latter he calls "marattismo," as if all Konkani were not Marathi. घे makes *gheilo* (perhaps घेइला), as well as *ghetlo* (घेतला). *Qhatã* (खा) makes *qhelo* (खेला) "outros dizem *qhailo*" (खाइला), he adds, "ambos irregulares," though the latter, from a Marathi point of view, would be more normal than the actually used खाल्ला. Perhaps the author would call it a "marattismo." Generally speaking, it would appear from the specimens of Konkani given by Burnell,[1] that the termination of the p.p. consists of लो, ली, लें, etc., added to the stem without an intermediate vowel, as बस्लो "sat" (M. बसला), पड्लें "fell" (M. पडला), राव्ली "remained" (M. राहिली), and the like.

The differences between Konkani and Marathi do not, I

[1] Specimens of South Indian Dialects (Mangalore,

think, entitle the former to be considered a distinct member of the Aryan group, but rather a dialect of the latter, which has been subjected very largely to Dravidian influences. Parallel to it, on the opposite coast of India, is the *Aryan* spoken in Ganjam and Vizagapatam, which, though radically Oriya, has, nevertheless, been much Dravidianized by the influence of the Telugu which surrounds it. Both Ganjam Oriya and Konkani Marathi show traces of this influence not only in pronunciation, but even in structure. There is much to be said on this subject, were this the proper place for it, and, from the known results in languages under our own eyes of Dravidian influences on Aryan speech, we might base considerations as to the probable extent and nature of those influences in former times. The subject would require a whole treatise to itself.

§ 79. In Bangali no attempt is made to avoid hiatus, the verbs ending in vowels simply add the terminations without any change. Thus যা "go" (pronounced *já*), makes—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Aorist.	1. যাই	2. যাইস	3. যায.	1. যাই	2. যাও	3. যান.

Present যাইতেছি, subjunctive যাইতাম, and so on.

Contraction, however, takes place in the 3 pl. of the aorist, as in যান for যাএন, হন (hŏnŏ) for হোএন, and in the familiar verb দে "give," almost throughout; thus we have—

	SINGULAR.			PLURAL.		
Aor.	1. দি	2. দিস	3. দেয.	1. দি	2. দেও	3. দেন
Pres.	1. দিতেছি, etc.					
Pret.	1. দিনু	2. দিলিস	3. দিল.	1. দিলাম	2. দিলে	3. দিলেন
Fut.	1. দিব	2. দিবি	3. দিবে.	1. দিব	2. দিবা °বে	3. দিবেন,

contracted from দেই, দেইতেছি, দেইনু, দেইব, etc., respectively. As a rule, however, though in ordinary speech many of the forms of stems in vowels are very much contracted, yet in

writing the full forms are always used. It is only in a few very familiar words that the contractions are admitted into the written style of the present day. The old poets, however, writing more freely and naturally, employ them frequently. Thus Bhârat Chandra, मजुन्दारे संगे निला घोडा चडाइया "He *took* Majumdâr along with him, having mounted him on a horse" (Mansingh, 417), where निला is for लइला, from लइते "to take." So he constantly uses कय for कहे "says," as कोटाल हासिया कय। कहिते लाज ना हय। "The Kotwal laughing, says, Are you not ashamed to say so?" (Bidyâ-S. 356), also कब for कहिब, as हाय हाय कि कब विधिरे "Alas! alas! what shall I say to fate?" (*ib.* 360), and दिन for देन aorist 3 sing., as आगे दिला कतदुख मध्ये दिन कतसुख "First having given how much pain, they give in between how much pleasure" (*ib.* 359).

The contractions admitted in Oriya are similar to those in Bangali, but the language does not avoid the hiatus in any way; and in both O. and B. the terminations are almost universally preceded by short *i*, which does not combine with the preceding vowel, but in pronunciation often disappears altogether. Thus they say, O. खाउ "wilt thou eat?" for खाइबु. In a few words the vowel of the root has gone out, thus from जा "go," we have जिबि "I will go," for जाइबि; from था "remain," infin. थिबा for थाइबा; पा "find," however, retains its vowel, as पाइलि, पाइबि, पाइबा. Also जा and था retain their vowels everywhere except in the preterite, future, and infinitive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PARTICLE.

CONTENTS.—§ 80. Adverbs Nominal and Pronominal.—§ 81. Pronominal Adverbs of Time, Place, and Manner.—§ 82. Adverbs Derived from Nouns and Verbs.—§ 83. Conjunctions.—§ 84. Interjections.—§ 85. Postpositions.—§ 86. Conclusion.

§ 80. The seven languages are rich in adverbs, and have a specially symmetrical range of pronominal adverbs, corresponding to the several classes of pronouns. The forms were given in Vol. II. pp. 336–38, in order to show their analogy to the pronouns, but nothing was said in that place about their origin; it will now be necessary to consider them more closely. The pronominal adverbs may be at once assumed to have sprung from the pronouns to which they respectively correspond, by the incorporation of some noun indicative of time, place, manner, and the like. On the other hand, the adverbs which have no pronominal meaning are clearly derived from various cases of nouns, whether substantives or adjectives. Participles, also, in virtue of their seminominal character, are used adverbially, either in their original form, or with certain modifications. Adverbs, therefore, may be divided into two classes, nominal and pronominal, with reference to their origin, and into three general categories of time, place, and manner, with reference to their meaning. To these must be added adverbs of confirmation and negation, and certain little helping words which are more adverbial in their nature than anything else. It is also to be noted that, while on the one hand simple nouns are often used adverbially, on the other hand, adverbs are

capable of being used as nouns with postpositions after them, as in H. तब की बात, lit. "the word of then," *i.e.* "the matter that took place then," अब के राजा/ लोग "the kings of now," *i.e.* "those of the present day."

§ 81. (I). Pronominal adverbs of time.—The near demonstrative is H. अब, G. हवे, M. एव्हां, O. एवे. All these hang together, and are apparently compounds of the Skr. वेला "time," with the type of the demonstrative अ, इ, or ए. The fuller form in O. shows this, it is एते वेळे, which is clearly the locative case of a masculine वेल, literally, "in so much time." G. has prefixed a ह, but many words in G. may be indifferently written with ह or अ; there is, therefore, nothing organic about this letter when met with in this connection. In M. एह्मां also the ह seems to be somewhat anomalous. There are also, however, many other forms for "now" in the various languages, which appear to be unconnected with वेला.

Hindi is mostly, however, faithful to the type in व; thus in Braj अबै, Marwari अमै, and still more clearly Bhojpuri एबेर, which approaches to the O. एवे. The same type runs through all the pronominal forms, as जब "whenever," तब "then," कब "when." Bhojpuri जेबेर, तेबेर, केबेर, Braj जबै, तबै, कबै. The Skr. forms यदा, तदा, कदा appear in H. जद, तद, कद, and in the dialectic forms, जदै, जदी, जदू, जदां, जद्यां; as also तदै, etc., कदै, etc.; the forms with the palatal and labial vowels have, I think, arisen from the incorporation of the affirmative particle ही or ह्व "indeed," of which more further on.

Panjabi ऊण, G. S. हाणे, B. एखन, and a dialectic form in O. उकुण, all meaning "now," are to be referred, as the B. form clearly shows, to the Skr. क्षण "instant, moment." For the rest of the series P. has जद्, तद्, कद्. S., however, has another type हिंअर, हेर "now," in which we may, perhaps, see the Skr. काल "time," combined with the pronoun हिंअ "this;"

for the other members of the series it has जड़िहीं "whenever," तड़िहीं "then," कड़िहीं "when?" which arise from the Skr. यदा, etc., with the emphatic हीं, which has changed the preceding vowel into the *i* which is so common in S. They also write कड़ीं and कडेहिं as dialectic variations; also जां, तां (but not कां), where the द of यदा has suffered elision.

G. has, besides हवे, also हमणां, हवडां, and for the rest जेवारे, तेवारे, केवारे, commonly contracted into ज्यारे, etc., in which we see the Skr. वार "time." Owing to the G. peculiarity in respect of initial ह, we have also अमणां, and with a modernized form of Skr. अत्र "here," अत्यारे (अत्र वारे) "at this time," "now."

M. is consistent throughout एव्हां, जेव्हां, तेव्हां, केव्हां. In Old-M. forms जेधवां, etc., occur, showing that the modern व्ह *vh* is an inversion from ह्व *hv*. The suggested origin from Skr. कदा, by aspirating the द and adding आं, the termination of the locative (Godbol, p. 75), is unsatisfactory. M. has also a series जंव, etc., meaning "while," "as long as," which recalls H. जब with inorganic anunâsika.

O. has the fuller forms, जेते वेळे, etc., and जेवे explained above; the former is quite as frequently used as the latter, if not more so. "Time is made for slaves," and not for Oriyas.

B. जखन, तखन, etc., uniformly, pronounced *jökhön* or *jökhönŏ*, etc. H. adds constantly ही for emphasis, as अभी "now" (अबही), कभी "sometimes" (कबही), and with the negative कभी नहीं "never."

For the indefinite pronominal adverb "ever," "sometimes," the other languages have, P. कदी (कदही), कदों, कदे, S. कडहीं, G. कदी, M. कधीं, B. कखन, O. केवे, केवेहिं. All these are repeated to signify "sometimes," as P. कदी कदी, M. कधीं कधीं.

The above express definite or quiescent time; for progressive time, whether past, as "since," or future "until," the adverbs above given are used as nouns with case-affixes. Thus H. अब से "from now," "henceforth," तब से "thenceforth," कब से

"since when?" जब से "from the time when," or with the older affix तें in the poets, as in जब तें राम व्याहि घर आये। "From the time when Ram married and came home" (Tulsi-Rám, Ay-k. 5), P. जदों, S. जड़िहाको, जड़िहोको, जड़िहाकर; where को is probably a shortened form of कर, an oblique from कर्, which we may connect with काल "time," as in हिंअर "now." The long *â* or *o* of *jaḍihâ*, *jaḍiho*, as contrasted with the *i* of जड़िहीं, seems to indicate an oblique form. G. हमणाथों "henceforth," अत्यारथीं, and apparently also ज्यारथीं, and the rest of the series. They also say अत्यार पछी "henceforth." M. uses मग or मागें, which are not pronominal. Neither B. nor O. have special forms for this idea.

To express "until" in Old-H. लगि, लौं, लौ, in modern H. लग, तलक, and तक, are affixed to the pronominal adverb, as in Chand—

तव लगि कष्ट दरिद्र तन ॥
तव लगि लघु मुहि गात ॥
जव लगि हौं आयौ नहीं ॥
तो पाइ न सेवात ॥

"Till then, pain and poverty of body,
Till then, my limbs were light (*i.e.* mean),
So long as I came not to thee,
And worshipped not at thy feet.—Pr.-R. i. 276.

Here, as always in H., the negative has to be inserted, and we must translate जब लगि by "so long as." This idiom is not peculiar to H., but is found in many other languages. In modern Hindi जब तक राम घर को नहीं आवे "So long as Râm comes not home," *i.e.* "until he comes," and the same in P.

S. has हेसीं or एसींताईं "up to this time," ओसीं or होसींताईं "up to that time," where ताईं, as explained in Vol. II. p. 298, is Skr. स्थाने, which, from meaning "in the place," has grown to mean "up to." सीं, I suppose, is a contraction of समय "time."

(2). Pronominal adverbs of place.—See list in Vol. II. p. 336.

The Hindi series यहां, वहां, जहां, तहां, कहां, is composed of the pronominal bases with हां, which we are justified in referring to Skr. स्थाने; thus तहां = तत्स्थाने. The dental is preserved in several dialectic forms (Kellogg, p. 265), as Marwari अठै, अठी, ईठै "here," उठै, etc., "there," Avadhi एठियां, ओठियां, Bhojpuri एठां, एठाईं. But the Braj इतै, इत, is, I think, by Kellogg rightly referred to the Skr. series अत्र, तत्र, etc. The Bundelkhandi form याजी is probably only another way of pronouncing याईं, as we find in Old-Bengali such words as खसाञि for खसाईं (modern खसाइया). To *sthâne*, also, are to be ascribed the P. forms इत्थे, उत्थे, etc. S. has not only इति, जिति, etc., which may come from अत्र, यत्र, but इत्थे, which agrees with P., and हिते, which is, I suspect, like हिकिडो "one," an instance of a ह being put on to the front of a word without any etymological cause.

G. has various forms अंहीं, आहां, हहीं, अहीआं "here," and the same variety through all the series. The adverbial part agrees with H. Shortened forms ज्यां, त्यां, क्यां, and even जां, तां, कां, are also in use.

M. agrees closely with P. and S. in its series येथें, जेथें, etc., where the final anuswâra, like that of Bhojpuri एठाईं, preserves the *n* of *sthâne*. But कोठें "where," has the cerebral.

O. having first made *sthâna* into ठा, proceeds with the declension through its own affixes, and has thus a modern locative ठारे, in एठारे, सेठारे. The final रे is often dropped, and एठा, सेठा, or even shortened एठि, सेठि are used. B. uses खाने, which seems to come from स्थाने on the analogy of खंभो = स्तंभ (Var. iii. 14) and खाणु = स्थानु (*ib.* iii. 15). For "where," however, it has a more regular form कोथा, in older Bengali कोथाय, as तार मत सन्यासिनी पाइब कोथाय "Where shall I find a female saint like her?" (Bharat, Bidyá-S. 399), where the final य for ए is a relic of the *e* of *sthâne*. We also find हेथा and हेथाय "here," etc.

In the case of the adverbs of this group, as in those of time, the case-affixes are used, as H. कहां से "from where?" "whence?" G. आंहां थी "hence," P. कित्यों "whence?" But this practice is only in force to imply motion *from* a place. To express motion *towards* a place a separate set is used.

In classical H. the adverbial element is धर, as इधर "hither," उधर "thither." The dialectic forms are very various. Bhojpuri has एम्हर, उम्हर, as also एने, उने, etc.; in eastern Behar one hears एन्हर, हेमर, and many others. Kellogg quotes also a curious form from Rîwâ एहैं कैत, एहैं कयोत, or एहैं मुंह. If we take the original of all these forms to be धर, that is a word of many meanings both in Skr. and H.; but I am disposed to connect the series with M. म्होर "face," G. मोहडुं *id.*, a diminutive from Skr. मुख, so that the older adverbial element would be म्हर, as in Bhojpuri, whence न्ह, which would, by a natural process, glide into न्धर and धर. For the Rîwâ form I can suggest no origin.

The S. and M. forms seem to be connected, and with them I would associate the common O. expressions ए आड़े "in this direction," "hither" (ओ आड़े, को आड़े, etc.), which are locatives, and ए आड़ु, etc., "from this place," "hence," which are ablatives. The Sindhi adverb, as usual in that language, is written in a dozen ways, but the simplest form is एड़े "hither," and एड़ां "hence," which, like O., are respectively locative and ablative. Marathi has what is apparently a fuller form इकडे "hither," locative, where the adverbial portion is कड "a side," said to be from Skr. कट "hip, loin." It has also an ablative series इकडून "hence." May we not here throw out a crumb for our Non-Aryan brethren? There is a long string of words in our seven languages of the type *aḍḍa*, and our Sanskrit dictionaries give √अड्ड "to join," also "to stop." On the other hand, Telugu has *ikkaḍa* "here," *ikkaḍiki* "hither," which looks very like M. *ikaḍe*. So, also, in Telugu *akkaḍa* "there." All the Dravidian languages have a root *aḍḍ*, which,

in various forms, has a range of meanings such as "to be near," "close," "to cross," "to stop," and the like. They may have borrowed from the Aryans, or the Aryans from them. It by no means follows, as the opposite party always assume, that when a word is common to both groups, it must have been originally Dravidian. In the O. expression आड़ is a noun meaning "direction," and is used in that sense independently of its adverbial employment with the pronoun.

(3). Pronominal adverbs of manner.—The Hindi series यौं, ज्यौं, त्यौं, etc., and for the near demonstrative and interrogative respectively softened forms यूं and क्यूं, vary very little in the dialects. Marwari has ऊं, इऊं "thus," and, together with Braj and Mewari, has the far demonstrative, which is wanting in the classical dialect, वौं or वूं. Mewari adds कर and गा, as ईंकर, ईंगा "thus," which Kellogg looks on as from Skr. कृ and गम respectively, and rightly so; for even in classical H. we have क्यूंकर "how?" and in Chand and the poets करि or कद् (के) are added to all this pronominal series at will.

The older form of this group is still preserved in the Purbi form इम or इमि, जिमि, तिमि. Chand has both this series and the modern one in यों, as यों भयौ रिषि अवधूत। "*Thus* the Rishi was absorbed in thought" (Pr.-R. i. 48), त्यौं इह कथा प्रमाणं॥ ज्यौं जानि कोविदं लोगं॥ "*Thus* this story is proved, *as* learned folk know" (*ib.* xiii. 5), पद्मावती इम ले चल्यौ। हरषि राज प्रथिराज। "King Prithiraj, rejoicing, thus (*ima*) led away Padmâvatî," (*ib.* xx. 35), तहां सु केम किज्जै गमन। "*How* can one go there?" (*ib.* i. 90). Tulsi Das has इमि, जिमि, etc., as in तन पसेउ कदली जिमि कांपी "Her body was in a sweat, she trembled *as* a plantain-tree (trembles)."—Ram. Ay-k. 131.

M. may be excluded, as it has no series of this type, but merely the neuter of the adjective pronoun, as असें, जसें, तसें. All the other languages have closely allied words. B. एमन, एमत, एमने, एमते, "thus," जेमन, etc.; the first two are nominatives, the last two locatives. O. एमति, जेमति, locatives; also

ए परि, the pronominal type, with a postposition. G. एम, जेम, where the termination has been lost, also for demonstrative आम. This series is sometimes written ज्यम, त्यम, क्यम, but जेम is the more common, as in कीर्ति यह नऊ नी विस्तीर्ण जेम सूरज ना पसरे कीर्ण ॥ "The fame of Nala was spread abroad, as spread the rays of the sun" (Premânand in *K.-D.* ii. 71).

Next in order comes the Old-Purbi H. इमि, etc., and, with the nasal weakened, probably through an intermediate form इंव, and change of the semivowel to its vowel, P. इऊं and ऐऊं *aiũ*, and the full series जिऊं, तिऊं, किऊं, as well as one without the *i*, जऊं, तऊं, etc., to which is allied H. ज्यौं, etc., for जिउं. S. rejects the labial element in इंञ, हींञ, ईएं, and the rest of the series.

In this instance B. and O. preserve the fuller forms, and the other languages fall away by degrees, in the order given above. The whole group points, in my opinion, clearly to a type in मत् or वत्. This is still more clearly seen by comparing the pronominal adjective of quality in B. and O. केमन्त, सेमन्त, for मन्तो is the regular Prakrit form of the masc. मत्, just as वन्तो is of वत् in Skr. It is true that the existing Skr. series means rather quantity than manner, thus—

इयान्, इयती, इयत् "so much,"
कियत् "how much?"
एतावान्, °वती, °वत् "so much,"
यावत् "as much as."

But the affixes *mat* and *vat* imply possession, and thus naturally pass over into the idea of manner. It seems that we have in the modern group this affix added to the ordinary range of pronominal types, and thus a formation of a later kind, rather than a direct derivation from the Skr. Kellogg's suggestion of a derivation from a Skr. series in *tha*, of which only *ittham* and *katham* are extant in the classical writings, fails to account for

the Old-Purbi and G. forms, as well as for those in B. and O. Also the S. form इंअ seems to be more naturally referred to an earlier *emana*, through *enan*, than to *ittham*, unless, indeed, we regard the anuswâra as inserted to fill the hiatus left by elision of *tth*. S. does, undoubtedly, insert anuswâra to fill a hiatus; but as the cognate languages have a म just where the anuswâra in S. occurs, it is more natural to regard the one as a weakening of the other, and the final anuswâra in H. and P. as the same, pushed one syllable forwards, so that H. ज्यौं would be for an older form जिउ. As the change, whatever it was, was completed before our earliest writer Chand's days, there is no actual proof forthcoming.

§ 82. Adverbs derived from nouns and verbs.—Under this head may be classed certain words such as those given in Vol. II. p. 296, which are either postpositions or adverbs, according to the connection in which they are used. In either case they are, by derivation, locative cases of nouns. Some are peculiar to one or two languages, while others are common, in one form or another, to the whole group. I do not, of course, undertake to give them all, but only a selection of those most commonly used, so as to show the practice of the languages in this respect. There are, for instance, H. आगे "before," and पीछे "behind," which are used adverbially in the sense of "formerly" and "afterwards" respectively, that is, with reference to time, and in this sense take, like the pronominal adverbs, the case-affixes, as आगे की बात "the former matter," lit. "the matter of formerly," पीछे के दुख मैं कहूंगा नहीं "I will not tell the suffering that followed," lit. "the suffering of afterwards." So also with नीचे "below," and the other words given at Vol. II. p. 296.

Strictly referring to time definite are H. आज "to-day," P. अज्ज, S. अजु, etc. (Vol. I. p. 327), from Skr. अद्य; also H. कल from Skr. कल्यं "dawn." This word has two meanings,

it is used for both "yesterday" and "to-day." In rustic H. we have the forms काल, कालि, काल्ह, and कल्ह (see Vol. I. p. 350). As the Skr. means only "dawn" in general, it is used in the moderns in the double sense, but in cases where the meaning might not be clear from the context, a word meaning past is employed when "yesterday" is intended, and a word meaning future when "to-morrow" is implied. It also takes case-affixes, as कल की लडाई में घायल हुआ "He was wounded in *yesterday's* battle," but कल की लडाइ में जदि घायल हुंगा "If I shall be wounded in *to-morrow's* battle." G. काले, S. कल्ह, काल्ह, M. काल.

So also are used the following:—Skr. परःअस् "the day after to-morrow." In the moderns it has also the sense "the day before yesterday," as H. परसों, and dialects परसौं, परहौं, परों. P. परसों, S. परिंहं, परिंहंकी, seem to be used only in the first meaning. G. परम, M. परवां. O. has पर always in combination with दिन, and where the sentence does not of itself sufficiently indicate the meaning, they add the words "gone" and "coming" to express it more clearly, गत पर दिन "the day before yesterday," and आसंता पर दिन "the day after to-morrow."

H. goes a step further still, and has तरसों "three days ago," or "three days hence," where the first syllable is probably Skr. त्रि "three." Similarly S. तरिंहं, but also with rejection of initial त, अरिंहं. Kellogg quotes dialectic forms in H. अतरसों, तरौं, तरों. In H. we have even a still further नरसों "four days ago," which is rarely, however, used, and the initial of which, I conjecture, comes from अन्य, as though it were for अन्य तरसों "another day (besides) three days ago."

H. सवेर "early," "betimes," and अवेर, or more usually अबेर "late," are Skr. स and अ, compounded with वेला respectively. S. सवेर and अवेर, also अवेल, besides the adjectivally used forms सवेरो and सवारो, as well as अवेलो. In this sense is also used H. सकाले, सकारे, O. and B. *id.*; in O. it is frequently used in

the sense of "early in the morning," also "early *to-morrow* morning," as आजि जाइ पारिबुं नहिं सकाले जिबुं "To-day we shall not be able to go, we will go early to-morrow morning." H. here uses तडके, conjunctive participle of तडना "to break," as we should say "at break of day;" also भोर "dawn" is used in H. and O., भोरे in B. for "at dawn;" where G. has वाहाणो, M. उद्यां (Skr. उदय "sunrise"). Common also is Skr. प्रभाते, B. *id.*, G. परभाते, of which the Oriyas make पाहान्ते "at dawn;" in Eastern Bengal one hears पाहा. The H. भोर is probably connected with the Skr. √भा in some way not very clear. G. has a curious word मळसके "at dawn," probably connected with मळवुं "to meet," and, like Skr. सन्ध्या, indicating the meeting of darkness and light.

"Rapidly," "quickly," "at once."—This idea is expressed by derivatives of the Skr. √त्वर्, principally from the p.p.p. त्वरितम्, which is used adverbially already in Skr. The forms are: H. तुरंत, M. तूर्त, G. तुरत, तरत, त्वरीत, S. तुर्तु, O. B. तुरंत, त्वरित. M. has a peculiar word लवकर "at once, quickly," Skr. लव (√लू "to cut") "a minute," M. लवणें "to flash, twitch, move quickly." It is not found in any other language. Commoner, however, is H. झट "quick!" reduplicated झटपट, M. झट्कन, S. झटिपटि and चटिपटि, O. झट, झटपट, B. झटि, from Skr. झटिति. "Immediately" is also expressed in M. by तत्काल, O. and B. तत् खणात्, but these are pedantic. H. P. M. and S. have also a word अचानक; H. also अचांचक "suddenly," "unexpectedly," corresponding to which is G. अचाचेते, ओचितो, pointing to a derivation from अ and √चिन्त् "to think," though I am disposed also to remember Skr. चमत्कार, H. चौक, in this connection. O. and B. use हठात्, literally ablative of Skr. हठ, meaning "by force." It is used generally of sudden and forcible action, but also in sentences where no force, only surprise, or a sudden fright, occurs. Similarly in H. and G. एकाएक "all of a sudden," M. एकाएकीं, are used.

Among adverbs of place, considerable divergences exist, each

language having a large stock of words peculiar to itself, in addition to those which are common to the whole group. Sindhi is rich in words of this class, most of which are of somewhat obscure origin. Thus we find a small group with the typical ending in ड, as आडो "opposite," ओडो "near," ओडिरो diminutive of the preceding. Peculiar to S. is also वेझो "near," with its diminutive वेझिरो. सूधो "accompanied by," O. सुधा, is by Trumpp referred to Skr. सार्द्धं "with," and सञ्रों "near," to सहित, probably correctly. See the remarks on the postposition से in Vol. II. p. 274, and on the Nepali ablative in सित, Vol. II. p. 235. From adverbs with the affixes आहो and आरो are formed certain adjectives which may, in their turn, be again used adverbially as well as adjectively, that is, they may either stand alone uninflected, or may agree with a substantive in gender and number. Thus—

ओरे "on this side,"	ओराहों "somewhat on this side."
आगे "in front,"	आगाहों "somewhat in front."
पोइते "behind,"	पोइताहों "somewhat behind."
मथे "upon,"	मथाहों "somewhat higher up."
मंझे "in,"	मंझाहो / मंझारो "somewhat inside."

This last word recalls the old poetic Hindi मझार used in Chand (see Vol. II. p. 293). They may also take the feminine ending आहीं, as अगाहीं, मथाहीं.[1]

Simple ablatives or locatives of nouns are also used adverbially, as—

पुञ्रां / पुञ्रों "from behind,"	abl. of पोउ "the rear."
पुठिञ्रां "from behind,"	„ पुठि "the back."

[1] Trumpp, Sindhi Grammar, p. 385.

मथां "from upon,"	abl. of मथो "the head."
मथे *id.*	loc. of *id.*
मागे "at all,"	„ माग़ु "place."
मूरि "completely,"	„ मूरु "capital," "stock-in-trade."
मूरहिं / मूराईं	*id.* abl. of *id.*
महंदि "before,"	loc. of महंदु "beginning."
महंदां *id.*	abl. of *id.*
पारे "on the other side,"	loc. of पारु "the other side."
पारां "from the other side,"	abl. of *id.*
अंदरे "within,"	loc. of अंदरु "the inside."
अंदरां / अंदसें "from within,"	abl. of *id.*
विचे "in the midst,"	loc. of विचु "the midst."
हडे / हडेहीं "at all,"	„ हडु "the core."
हेठे "below,"	„ हेठु "the bottom."
हेठां "from below,"	abl. of *id.*

Sindhi thus preserves the case-endings more strictly than the other languages. The latter mostly take the Prakrit locative, or ablative, and entirely reject the terminations.

Hindi has अनत "elsewhere," Skr. अन्यत्र, निकट "near," also नेरे (dialectically नेरु and नेरौ); परे "on the other side," भीतर "within," Skr. अभ्यन्तरे, बाहिर, बाहर "outside," Skr. बहिस्, and others.

M., like S., has मागें, but in the sense of "before," also पुढें "before," पल्याड "beyond," वर "above," जवळ "near," which are peculiar to itself. In the other languages there is nothing deserving special mention; the subject has already been treated in Vol. II. p. 296.

Adverbs of manner.—While the adverbs of place, being also, in their nature, postpositions, and as such used to form cases, do not call for special mention, adverbs of manner are not so used,

and it is to them that the term adverb, in its more special sense, correctly applies. Such words as *âge* "before," *pichhe* "behind," and the others, may, indeed, be properly regarded as adverbs when they are used alone, but when in conjunction with nouns, they become true postpositions, giving to the relations of the noun a more extended application. Adverbs of manner, on the other hand, are, for the most part, adjectives used adverbially, and this practice is common in all Aryan languages. In Sindhi, which preserves distinctions obliterated in the other languages, adjectives may, as pointed out above, be used adverbially by being undeclined, or, in their true use as adjectives, by agreeing with the subject in gender and case. Thus, to quote the instances given by Trumpp :[1]

ओचितोऽ कुए हिकिडे उन भांडे जे भरि में वऽ किओ

"By chance one mouse made a hole near that granary."

Here *ochito-î* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc. with emphatic *î*, and although by the accident of the construction it is in the same case as the subject *kue* "a mouse," yet it is evidently used adverbially.

तडिहीं जऽ हारे जाल घणो रोऽ माउ वरिओसि

"Then having shed tears much, having wept much, his mother returned."

Here *ghaṇo* is an adjective in the nom. sing. masc., and clearly does not agree with *mâû* "mother," which is feminine; it must be regarded as used adverbially.

लुकूं लगनि कोसिऊं डाढा तपनि डींह

"The winds strike hot, the days burn fiercely."

In this sentence I do not think we should regard the adjectives as used adverbially; लुकूं "winds," is a noun in the nom. pl. fem. and कोसिऊं "hot" agrees with it, so also डींह

[1] Sindhi Grammar, p. 386.

"days," is nom. sing. masc. and डाढा "fierce, excessive" (Skr. दृढ), agrees with it; so that we might more literally translate, "the hot winds strike, the fierce days burn."

In Marathi and Gujarati also, where adjectives have the full range of three genders, they are often made to agree with the noun in constructions, where in English they would be used adverbially. When intended to be adverbially used, they stand in the nom. sing. neuter, ending in एं M. and उं G. In Bengali and Oriya, where no gender exists, it is impossible to draw the same line of distinction, and this remark applies also to that numerous class of adjectives in Hindi and Panjabi, as also in all the other languages, which are indeclinable, or which, ending in mute *a*, do not vary their terminations. Those adjectives in H. and P. which end in *á* masc. and *í* fem., when used adverbially, stand in the former gender and do not vary with the noun.

§ 83. Conjunctions.—In Hindi the common word for "and" is और, Old-H. अरु, अवर, from Skr. अपर "other." In B. and O. it loses the final consonant, B. ओ, O. अउ. In B., however, एवं, pronounced *ebong*, is very common; and आर "also." P. अते, often shortened into ते, probably from Skr. अंते "at the end," "afterwards," as well as अर (अपर). S. अउं, अदं, ईं or ए, in which the fondness of S. for the *i*-sound comes out. G. uses generally तथा literally "then." It has besides ए and ओ for "also," which belong to the group from अपर. G. अने, shortened ने, I am disposed to connect with P. अते, and ascribe to Skr. अंते. In the former case the त has been lost, in the latter the न. It may, however, be allied to M. आणि, अणखी "and," from Skr. अन्य "other." In all the languages, however, the shorter conjunction व is in use, side by side with the words given above. The ordinary Skr. च has left no descendants. The Gipsies use *te* or *ta*, which agrees with P., also *u*, which is Persian و.

"Also."—H. भी, Skr. अपि हि, Pr. वि हि. The various steps from अपि downwards are all retained in S. पि, वि, भि (for विहि), and भी. The other forms पुणु, पुणि, पिणि, are from Skr. पुनर् "again," and show a gradual change from the *u* to the *i*, in accordance with S. proclivities. P. नाठें means literally "near to," locative of नाठ "near." G. पण, meaning also "but," is from पुनर्. B. uses ओ, and O. भि.

"But" is very frequently expressed even in Hindi by the Arabic words लेकिन لیکن, बलकि بلکہ, and Porsian मगर مگر; and in the other languages also. Pure Sanskrit are परंतु and किन्तु, as well as वरण (Skr. वरं). In Hindi पर (Skr. परं) is also used, and in P., which also uses अपर, and a strange form ऐपर, in the initial syllable of which we may recognize an incorporation of the near demonstrative pronoun, so that it means "rather than this." P. has also मगवां, मगों, probably corruptions of مگر. Peculiar to P. and S. are the forms P. हथां, S. हथा, हथो, and emphatic हथांईं and हथोंईं "but rather." These are ablatives from हथ, and the idiom may be paralleled by our English phrase "on the other hand." S. has also पर "but," and पण, in which latter it agrees with G. It also uses मगरि, having added a final *i* to مگر. G. and M., in addition to पण, use also परंतु, O. किन्त and पर, B. किन्तु and वरं.

"Or."—H. वा, अथवा, which are Skr., with व for व. The Arabic या ﻳﺎ is very common, and commoner still is कि, probably shortened from Skr. किंवा. This कि is colloquially common in nearly all the languages. G. writes it के, where *e* is short. M. lengthens the vowel and retains the nasalization कीं, also using अथवा, as does G. P. के, अथवा, and या. S. के and को. B. uses several varieties of किंवा, as किम्बा, किवा, कि, and वा, also अथवा. O. the same.

"If."—Skr. यदि, generally pronounced and written जदि, is universal. H. shortens it into जद and जे (=जद्, with loss of द्) and जो, by rejection of final *i*, and द goes out, its place

being supplied by व and उ; thus जद्=जव=जउ=जो. Persian अगर اگر is also very common. P. जे and जेकर. This last introduces कर for करि "having done." S. जे.

"Although."—Skr. यद्यपि is used in B. O., also in H., but more common is जो भी "if even." P. has भावें, literally "one may think," or "it may seem." B. also uses जदि ओ "if even." S. तोडे, तोणे, sometimes with जे prefixed, जे तोडे; this, too, is literally "if even," for तोडे alone is used to mean "either," "even," and is apparently really the correlative तो (तउ=तदि) with a diminutive affix. It is not found in the other languages. G. जो पण "but if." In all cases there is a correlative; thus to H. जो or जो भी answers तो or तो भी "then," or "even then;" to P. भावें answers तां भी; to G. जो पण, answers तो पण, and so in all. In B. and O., as in written H., the correlative is Skr. तथापि "yet."

"Because."—H. क्यूंकि literally "for why." B. and O. use Skr. कारण "cause," and जे हेतु or जे हेतुक. G. माटे, probably Skr. माचिके, which is also sometimes used in O. in the sense of "only," "merely," "for the simple reason that." G. has also केमके "for why," and shorter कांके. S. जेलां, जेल्हं, where the last syllable is for लाइं "for" (see Vol. II. p. 260). S. also uses a string of forms with छा "why?" as छाजो, छा लाइ, and छो ता, छो जो. The correlatives "therefore," etc., take the त form तेला "etc."

These instances may suffice to show the general principles on which the languages proceed in forming their conjunctions. There is, as in other respects, a general similarity of process, accompanied by variations of development.

§ 84. Interjections.—The various spontaneous or involuntary sounds, some of them hardly articulate, by which sudden emotions are expressed, are scarcely susceptible of rigid scientific analysis in any language. Everywhere we find ha! ho! or ah! oh! and the like. Surprise, fear, disgust, delight, and

other sentiments are often displayed by grunts, shakes, turns of the head, or movements of the hands, and among the people of India the hands play so large a part in conversation that they may almost be said to speak for themselves. It is only the Englishman who can converse with his hands in his pockets.

In Hindi the principal interjections are हे, हो, अहो, ओ "Ho!" or "Oh!" हे is used to superiors, as हे धर्मावतार "O incarnation of justice!" which is the common method of addressing a Magistrate or Judge, हे प्रभु "O Lord!" हे पिता "O father!" हो, अहो, and ओ, have no special tone of respect or disrespect. Sorrow is shown by आ, आह, हाए, हा हा, अहह "alas!" whence the common cry of native suitors, or persons applying to a ruler for redress, दोहाए literally "twice alas!" One often hears *dohâe khudâwand, dohâe Angrez Bahâdur*, which is as much as to say "grant me justice," or "listen to my complaint." Others are छि छि "fie!" चुप "hush!" ऊह, ओह "ah!" a cry of pain; थू थू disgust; हत तेरी, an expression with a suspicion of indelicacy about it, like too many of the native ejaculations, meaning "begone," and at times with a menacing tone "how dare you?" I suspect the word now spelt हत was originally हट from हटना "to go away," "be stopped," and तेरी the feminine genitive of तू "thou," is explained by such filthy expressions as तेरी मा "thy mother." Two men are quarrelling, and one says to the other "âh, terî mâ," "oh thy mother." The person addressed at once understands that some gross and filthy insult to his mother is intended, for indiscriminate foul abuse of each other's female relations is a favourite weapon with the natives of India. Thus the innocent word साला or श्याला "brother-in-law," has become the lowest term of abuse in these languages, the obscene imagination of the people immediately grasping the idea involved in this assumption of relationship.

Panjabi has mostly the same as Hindi. A very favourite

interjection of surprise with Panjabis, though it is also used by the other languages, is वाह, and doubled वाह वाह. The simple-minded Panjabi says "wâh! wâh!" to every new thing he sees, and this favourite exclamation helps to form the once terrible war-cry of the fighting Sikhs, "*wâh wâh! fatih guru jî!*"

All the other languages have these common interjections, several of which are also Persian or Arabic more or less corrupted. Thus the Persian شاد باش *shâd bâsh*, "be joyful!" is used everywhere as a term of encouragement, "well done!" and is used to stimulate workers to increased efforts, to express approbation, or to kindle flagging courage. It appears mostly without the د, as *shabâsh*, *shabâshe*, *sabâs*, according to the language in which it is used.

A few special remarks are due to a very widespread word which is claimed by the Non-Aryan writers, अडे, अरे or रे. This is used to call inferiors, to rebuke impertinence, in scolding or quarrelling, and in most languages takes also a feminine form अडी, डी, री. Dr. Caldwell shows[1] that this word is also in use in the Dravidian group, and is there understood to mean "O slave!" Hemachandra, however (ii, 201), knows it as used in addressing (sambhâshaṇe), and in dalliance (ratikalahe). For reproach (kshepe) he prescribes हरे. I do not dispute the Non-Aryan origin of this word, but it must have found its way into Aryan speech at a very early date, and has there, to a great extent, lost its sense of rebuke, for it is often used merely to call attention, and in friendly condescension to an inferior, and there has sprung up beside it a form अवे, used also in the same tone. The interchange of ड and र need cause no difficulty, being, especially in early writers, extremely common. There does not appear to be any Sanskrit origin for this word, and the fact that in the

[1] Dravidian Comparative Grammar, p. 440 (first edition).

Dravidian group it can be traced to a definite meaning, is one which carries great weight.

In O. and B. रे is only used in calling males; when addressing females, O. uses लो, and B. गो. Thus O. आस लो, मा बजारकु जिबा "Come along, mother, let us go to the bazar;" B. निवेदये धनी शुन गो जननि "The lady entreats, 'hear me, oh my mother'" (Bhârat, Vid.-S. 338). लो, ओलो are also used in B. in contempt or reproof. Both these words seem to be fragments of लोगो, from Skr. लोक in the sense of "person," the word लोग or लोगाई being used to indicate the women of the speaker's family, and especially his wife, whom it is not considered proper to speak of directly.

§ 85. It is necessary to revert to the subject of postpositions, although they were partially discussed in Vol. II. p. 295, because in that place they were regarded in only one of their two aspects, namely, as factors in the declensional system. Here they must be looked at as parts of speech, corresponding to prepositions in the western Aryan languages.

In Hindi, in addition to the postpositions mentioned in Vol. II., may be cited as very common the following, some of which are also used as adverbs. Thus बाहिर "without" (Skr. बहिस्) is used as a postposition with the genitive case, as घर के बाहिर "outside the house," or even without the genitive sign, as द्वार बाहिर "outside the door." So also पार "across," "on the other side of," is very commonly used with the direct form of the noun in the phrase नदी पार "across the river," "on the other side of the river." So also समेत "with," "accompanied by," as सूर सामंत समेत "accompanied by his peers and paladins," the meaning of the postposition from सम् + आ + इ requires this construction.

बीच "in," "in the middle of," सिरे "at the end of" (Skr. शिरस्), कणे "near to," "at the house of" (Skr. कर्ण), संग "with," हाथ "by means of," हां "at," "at the house of"

(Skr. स्थाने),[1] are also colloquially common, both with and without the sign of the genitive, but more frequently with it.

Panjabi has कोळ "near," literally, "in the bosom of," कोळों "from the side of," विच् "in," which is the regular sign of the locative, पार "on the other side," and पार वार "on both sides" (of a river, valley, etc.), as well as the Hindi words given above.

The postpositions in Sindhi are more numerous, and are divided, more clearly than in the other languages, into two classes, those which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and those which are added to the genitive. Of the first class are भर or भरि "on," "leaning on" (Skr. भर), where in H. भर rather means "full," as कोस भर "a full *kos*;" तोड़ि and तोणि "up to," which Trumpp regards as an emphatic locative from तोड़ु "end;" जां, जिअ, जींअ, जिएं, "like" (Skr. यथा); ड़ां, ड़ांह, ड़े "towards," with an ablative form ड़हां "from the direction of" (perhaps from Skr. दिश्); रे, रिअ, "without" (Skr. ऋते); सां, साणु, सें, सेणु "with" (Skr. सम; cf. B. सने).

S. सूधां "along with," H. सूधा and सुधा "with," O. सुधा or सबु सुधा "together with," "all taken together," from Skr. सार्द्धम्, according to Trumpp and others, but the O. usage seems to refer rather to Skr. शुद्ध, in the sense of संशुद्ध "completed."

S. सींअ "up to," "till" (Skr. सीमा), P. सीं and सीउं, appears occasionally to be used as a postposition, and one or two others of less importance complete the list.

[1] Platts (Grammar, p. 195), from whom I take this list, is the first writer to give the real origin and meaning of this word, which I, in common with most of my countrymen, had hitherto confounded with yahâṇ "here." There was no need for Platts to be so very dogmatic and arrogant about this and one or two similar small discoveries. He should try to bear the weight of his stupendous erudition more meekly. We may be thankful, however, to him for condescending to make a few mistakes occasionally, to bring himself down to our level. Such are the remarkable bit of philology in note 1, page 164, and his remarks on the intransitive in notes to pp. 171, 174. He who undertakes to correct others, should be quite sure he is right himself first.

Of the second class are वाझां, वाझूं, वाझों "without," P. वाझ, वाझों *id.* This rather means "owing to the absence of," as in the passage quoted by Trumpp, तान सूरिह भान्या सेल्ह देखण वाझों दोस जे "Then they were considered by the hero as therein *in the absence of* his friend." It is probably connected with Skr. √बंध् in the sense of being bound or impeded. बिना "without" (Skr. विना), is also common in H. P. B. and O. In M. विना, and G. विना and वना (*viná, vaná*).

S. लाइ and लइ "for the sake of," correspond to H. P. लिये, and are used like it, either with or without the genitive particle; but in S. the meaning is the same in both cases, while in H. it differs; thus उस लिये "for that reason," but उस के लिये "for the sake of him."

While in the other languages the postpositions, when not used as case-signs, are almost invariably joined to the genitive with the masculine oblique case-sign, in Sindhi they may take the ablative or accusative. Thus आडो "in front," may take the accusative. It is probably like O. आदी "in the first place," or with a negative आदी न "not at all," "at no time;" thus आदी सेठि गला नहि literally "to begin with, he did not go there," that is to say, "he never went there at all," locative of Skr. आदि "beginning."

अंदरि "within," Skr. अंतर्, but more probably from Persian اَنْدَر. ओडो "near to," धारां "apart, without," काणे "for the sake of," contracted from कारणे; मथे "upon," loc. of मथो "head," वांगे "like to," वेझो "near to," are also used in the same way.

In Marathi, besides the postpositions which are exclusively employed in forming cases, there are some which are added direct to the oblique form of the noun, and others which require the genitive case-sign.

Of the former kind are वर "on" (Skr. उपरि), which is generally written as one word with the noun, as घरावर "on

the house," उद्यांवर "till to-morrow." A longer form is वरता, which is declined as an adjective, generally meaning "up." Others are बाहेर "out," आंत "in," कडे "at," कडून "by means of," वांचून "without," विषयीं "about," "concerning," literally "in the matter (of)," मागें "behind," "formerly," पुढें "before," "in future," खालीं "under."

There is nothing specially worthy of note in the remaining languages which do not vary from Hindi very widely, either in the words they use, or in the manner of using them.

§ 86. The survey of the seven languages is here ended; the thinness of matter and illustration, in some respects, is due to the want of material, the difficulty of procuring books, and the absence of persons who might be consulted. Others, who enjoy greater advantages in these respects, will, in future times, supplement and supersede much that is defective and erroneous in this outline. Amru'lkais sings—

وَ ما المَرءُ ما دامَت حُشاشةُ نَفسهِ
بِمُدرِكِ أَطرافِ الخُطوب ولا آلِ

FINIS.

INDEX.

The Roman numeral indicates the volume, and the Arabic numeral the page. Only those words are here given which form the subject of some discussion, or illustrate some rule. A hyphen before a word indicates that it is a termination.

Note.—When the anuswâra precedes a strong consonant, it is not the nasal breathing, but the nasal letter of the varga of that consonant, and is therefore the first element in a mixed nexus. It must be looked for at the end of each varga.

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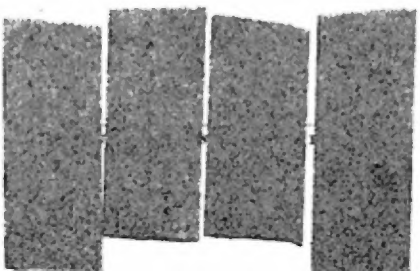

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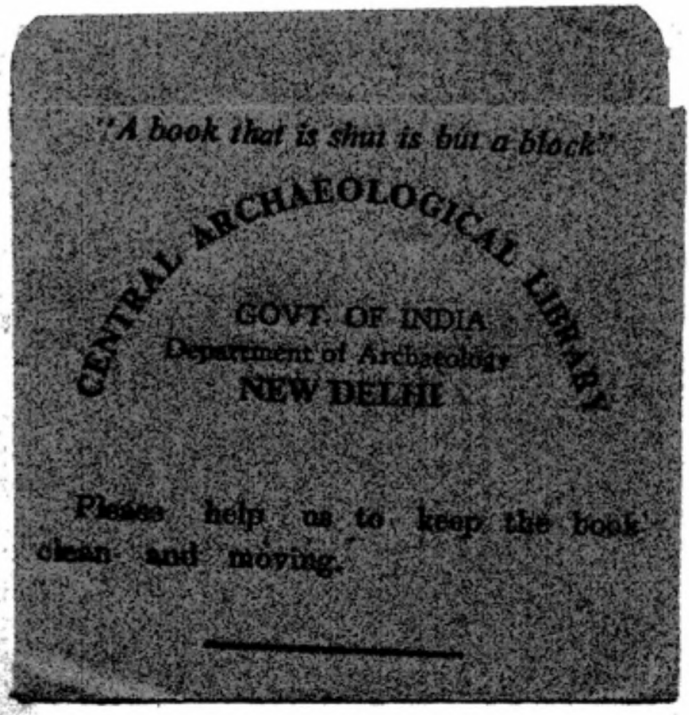
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